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TESTIMONIES

OF THE

ANTE-NICENE FATHERS

TO THE DOCTRINE OF

THE TRINITY

AND OF THE

DIVINITY OF THE HOLY GHOST.

BY

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OXFORD,

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

MDCCCXXI.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is unnecessary to state, that the present work is intimately connected with one which has been already published, entitled, *Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ*. The two works might not improperly have been incorporated, and the whole would have formed a body of Ante-Nicene testimony to the doctrine of the Trinity. I preferred however making a distinct collection of all the passages, which assert a belief in Christ's divinity: and I had intended to follow this up by a similar collection of quotations concerning the divinity of the Holy Ghost. It is known to the readers of ecclesiastical history, that there was no specific controversy concerning the third person of the Trinity till the fourth century. It might not be incorrect to say, that till then the divinity of the third person was never doubted or denied: but however this may be, the absence of controversy might prepare us for few passages, which bear directly upon this subject; and I have therefore thought it better to bring together in the present work all the testimonies which remain, whether they relate to the doctrine of the Trinity, or the divinity of the Holy Ghost.

The doctrine of the Trinity is in fact established by any passages, which prove the divinity of the second and third persons: and by the doctrine of the Trinity, I mean the doctrine of there being three distinct persons, each of whom is God, but all of whom, when considered as to their substance or essence, are only one God. I am not now explaining the nature of this mystery, but merely stating what is meant by the doctrine of the Trinity, as it has been held by the catholic church from the earliest ages to the present; and I repeat, that this doctrine is established by any passages, which prove the divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost.

If this position be denied, we have no alternative between adopting the Arian or Sabellian hypothesis, or acknowledging a plurality of Gods. The Arians professed to believe, that Jesus Christ is God: they even called him very God of very God: but then they used the term *God* in a different sense, when applied to the Son, from what it bears, when applied to the Father. They believed that there was a time, when the Son did not exist: they believed him to have been created by the Father: and by this twofold meaning of the term *God*, they avoided the charge of holding a plurality of Gods, while they also differed totally from the orthodox faith. The Arians however can hardly be rescued with truth from acknowledging more Gods than one. They did not acknowledge two Gods in the same sense of the expression; but there were two Beings of a

different nature, to whom they applied the same term *God*: and if they are to be acquitted of the charge of polytheism, the same indulgence may be extended to the heathen, who believed Jupiter to be God in a different sense from their deified heroes.

The Arian creed, if considered in all its bearings and deductions, will perhaps appear much less rational and philosophical, than has been sometimes asserted. It has been described as a simpler and less mystical hypothesis, than that of the Trinitarians: and yet it requires us to apply the same term *God* to two Beings, who differ as widely from each other, as the Creator and his creature. It requires us to speak of Christ, as *the begotten Son* of God, though he only differs from all other creatures by having preceded them in the order of time. It requires us to believe of this created Being, that he was himself employed in creating the world; and to invest him with every attribute of Deity, except that of having existed from all eternity. If we contrast these notions with the creed of the Trinitarians, they will be found to present still greater difficulties to our faculties of comprehension: but the Arian hypothesis, whatever may be decided concerning it, confirms very strongly the fact, which I am endeavouring to establish, that the notion of Christ being a mere man was not held in early times. If the Fathers were unanimous in speaking of him as God, they could not have believed him to

be a mere man in the sense of the modern Unitarians.

It will be conceded, that they did not mean to speak as polytheists: and many passages were adduced in my former work, as well as in the present, which are sufficient to shew that they were not Arians. They expressly denied, that there was a time, when the Son did not exist; and they as expressly asserted him to be of one substance with the Father. These were the two tests, which were always applied to persons suspected of Arianism; and if they are applied to the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, they will be found to remove them altogether from the suspicion of Arianism.

There are also many other expressions in their writings, (beside those which assert the eternity and consubstantiality of the Son,) by which we might argue that they could not have agreed with the sentiments of Arius. Such are all those passages, in which they speak of the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son; of the Son being one with the Father; and of Christ being the begotten Son of God. These expressions are of frequent occurrence in Ante-Nicene writings, and many instances may be found in this and my former work. Any one of them, as I conceive, is sufficient to prove, by legitimate and necessary inference, the doctrine of the Trinity. We will take the assertion of Christ being *the begotten Son* of God. The words *begotten Son* are either to be interpreted

literally or figuratively. If they are taken figuratively, they may merely mean, that Christ was beloved by God; that he was God's minister or messenger, like any other of the prophets, but that he received preeminent tokens of love and affection from God^a. It is in a sense somewhat similar to this, and evidently in a figurative sense, that all Christians are called *sons of God*, and even said *to be begotten by God*. But if Christ is the Son of God merely in this figurative sense, as being an adopted Son, the epithet of *only begotten* could not apply to him: for upon this hypothesis all Christians are equally begotten sons of God; and therefore the term *μονογενής*, *only begotten*, must lead us to infer, that Christ is the *Son of God* in a different sense from those, who are called *sons* by adoption. Christians are made sons by adoption; Christ is the only Son, who is begotten by God.

^a The word *μονογενής*, *only begotten*, is applied to Christ five times by St. John: (John i. 14, 18; iii. 16, 18; i John iv. 9.) and in each case the Unitarian translators have rendered it *only son*. Mr. Lindsey observes, that "*only begotten* is "most gross and improper language to be used in English, "especially with respect to "Deity:" (List of Wrong Translations, p. 46.) to which it is obvious to reply, that the grossness or impropriety of the expression is not the question:

St. John was as good a judge of this as Mr. Lindsey; and if *only begotten* is improper in English, *μονογενής* is equally improper in Greek; for *μονογενής* can have no other meaning than *only begotten*; and if we translate it *only*, we must still mean *only begotten*. The use of the term in Luke vii. 12, ix. 38. leaves no room for doubt: and when it is applied to Isaac, (Heb. xi. 17.) it evidently means, that Isaac was *the only son* of Abraham, *begotten* of Sarah.

This distinction between begotten and adopted sons seems clearly marked in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where Moses is said to have been faithful *as a servant*, but Christ *as a Son*. (iii. 5, 6.) There are also passages in the New Testament, where the argument is wholly illogical and inconsecutive, if we do not understand Christ to be the begotten Son of God, according to the analogy of human fathers and human sons. Thus in the parable of the householder and his vineyard, (Matt. xxi. 33—39,) the words, *they will reverence my son*, and *this is the heir*, require us to make a marked difference between *the son*, i. e. Jesus Christ, and *the servants*, i. e. all other prophets and teachers. The son in the parable is literally a begotten son, and the application of the parable requires us to believe the same of Jesus Christ. So also when St. Paul says, *He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?* (Rom. viii. 32.) the inference is not true, that God will certainly *give us all things*, if we understand by *his own Son* a mere human prophet or teacher, whom God sent into the world, and permitted to be put to death. Though it was an act of mercy on the part of God to send such a teacher, and we might perhaps infer from one such act of mercy, that others might be expected, yet we should not be justified in arguing, that God would therefore freely give us all things. The argument would then be *a minori ad majus*, and would not

be consecutive. But if God literally spared not his begotten Son, but delivered him up for us all, we may then argue *a majori ad minus*, that God will freely give us all things^b; for there is nothing, which can be so dear to God as his own begotten Son.

Having thus attempted to shew from the plain words of scripture, that Christ is literally the begotten Son of God, I shall not proceed to consider the mode of the divine generation, but merely to remark, that human language must be interpreted according to the analogy of human ideas. We know what is the relation of father and son, when we are speaking of men; and the scripture tells us to apply the same analogy to the relation which subsists between God and Jesus Christ. But since our ideas do not allow us to conceive of a son, that he is of a different nature from his father, we are compelled to form the same conception of God and his Son: both of them must be of the same nature; and since the Father is God, the Son, who is begotten by him, must be likewise God.

I was led into these remarks by considering the

^b I follow our version, which translates τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν χαρίσεται, *he will freely give us all things*: but the words may perhaps mean, *he will freely forgive us every thing*. Χαρίζεσθαι has this sense in Eph. iv. 32. Col. ii. 13; iii. 13; and it is perfectly just to argue,

that God will forgive us all our sins, if it was *his own Son* who made atonement for them; but the expectation would not be well grounded, if God merely sent a human teacher τὸ instruct us in our duty, and to prove his sincerity by his death.

expressions in the writings of the Fathers, which speak of Christ as the begotten Son of God. The modern Unitarians interpret these expressions figuratively, and so did the Arians in the fourth century; but both of them came to very different conclusions. The Arians believed Christ to be a created God: the Unitarians believe him to be a mere human being; and these opposite conclusions perhaps furnish a strong reason against having recourse to figurative interpretations. The orthodox party, or the Athanasians, as they have been termed in contempt, did not seek to be wise above what is written, but interpreted the words of Scripture literally: they believed that Christ is really the begotten Son of God: and this belief, as I have already observed, requires us to acknowledge the Son to be of the same nature with his Father, and therefore to be verily and truly God.

We are brought to the same conclusion by considering those expressions, which speak of the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son. It is true, that we read in the New Testament of God and His Son dwelling in all believers: and all Christians are said to be one with the Father and the Son: hence it has been contended that Christ is one with the Father in the same sense that all Christians may be said to be one with God. The reader will judge from the following quotations, whether this was the sense in which the Ante-Nicene writers spoke of the unity of the Father and the Son. I

would refer particularly to N^o. 1, 11, 12, 18, 25, 45, 50, 51, 57, 63, 64, 70, in all of which places we find assertions of this mysterious union: and if it should be decided, that the Fathers would not have spoken of God being thus united with any created being, we are again brought to the conclusion, that the Son is God, of the same nature with the Father.

I have said above, that if we do not admit the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity, we must suppose the Fathers, when they spoke of the Son and the Holy Ghost as God, to have adopted either the Arian or Sabellian hypothesis. I have given reasons for concluding that the Fathers were not Arians: and though their expressions concerning the Son being in the Father, and the Father in the Son, have been explained in the Sabellian sense, such an explanation can only be given by persons, who have not studied the Fathers. The Sabellian hypothesis removes some of the difficulties in the doctrine of the Trinity, but it does not remove the whole of them, and it creates new difficulties of its own. It saves us from enquiring into the mode of the divine generation, and simplifies the notion of the unity of God: but it fails to explain, why the Apostles constantly used such figurative language; and why God is spoken of as being Son to Himself. It assigns no reason, why God should be called the Son, when viewed as the Redeemer of mankind; and the notion of the Son interceding with the Father, of his having made satisfaction to his Father, and of

his being a mediator between God and man, must lead us to the notion of two Beings, who in some way or other have distinct individuality. That Sabellianism, when it appeared in the third century, was looked upon as a heresy, is not a matter of speculation, but of history. It was the creed of a party, which was not inconsiderable in numbers, but it was not the creed of the church. The sentiments of Tertullian, Novatian, Origen, and Dionysius, would alone be sufficient to prove this point. They refute the Sabellian hypothesis, not merely by inference or incidentally, but in writings expressly directed against the defenders of it: and the Index to this and my former work will furnish many passages, which prove that the Fathers were not Sabellians.

We are again therefore brought to the same conclusion, that if the Fathers spoke of the Son and the Holy Ghost as God, and if they did not use the term God in the Arian or Sabellian sense, they must have used it in the sense which it bore at the time of the council of Nice. That the Fathers were not Socinians or Unitarians, is, I conceive, capable of demonstration to every reasonable and unprejudiced mind. I have always admitted, and am still ready to admit, that the testimony of the Fathers is not infallible. They were liable to error like ourselves, and in some points they erred exceedingly. But let those persons, who reject the doctrine of the Trinity, declare plainly and openly what are their

sentiments upon this point. Let them not appeal to the Fathers, as agreeing with themselves, and then, when they are driven from this ground, attempt to depreciate the Fathers as unworthy of the appeal. The first question for enquiry is whether the writers of the first three centuries were unanimous; whether one uniform system of belief concerning the Son and the Holy Ghost can be extracted from their writings, or whether they opposed and contradicted each other. Even if we should adopt the latter conclusion, it would by no means follow, that they held the Socinian or Unitarian notions. Pains have been taken to rescue some of them from an inclination to Arianism; and the present work may shew whether the attempt has not been successful; but there is not even a shadow of proof, that any one of these writers approached to the Socinian or Unitarian tenets. It will however be seen, that the Fathers of the first three centuries were perfectly unanimous. There are no signs of doubt or dissension in any of their writings. Some of them were engaged in controversy, while others merely illustrated scripture, or applied themselves to practical theology. In all of them we find the same uniform mode of expression concerning the Son and the Holy Ghost. The testimony is collected with equal plainness from the casual and incidental remark, as from the laboured conclusion of the apologist and the polemic.

The next question is respecting the doctrine,

which was thus unanimously maintained. Upon this subject it does not become me prematurely to decide. The reader will draw his own inference, when he has read the testimonies, which are collected from the writers themselves: but if he should perceive in them an uniform and unvarying agreement with the doctrines which are now held in the catholic church concerning the Trinity, I must repeat the observation, which was made in my former work, that the belief of those Christians, who lived in the earliest times, was most likely to be genuine and apostolical. I have not seen any reason to alter or abandon this opinion. It is one which seems to be founded upon the most rational and natural principles: and until some argument is advanced, which will account for all these primitive Christians being in error, we may be content to believe them to have been right: and when we also find them agreeing perfectly with ourselves, we are perhaps not reasoning unphilosophically or presumptuously, if we see in the unanimous testimony of these writers a powerful and convincing support to the opinions, which we ourselves maintain. Whatever may be thought of the execution of the present work, the intention at least was honest: and that man has read the Fathers with very different feelings from myself, who does not thank God for having preserved to these latter days the light of purer times.

In my former work I mentioned the names of other writers, who had partly traversed the same

field: and I said that the treatise most nearly resembling my own in its design was that written by Burgh, entitled, *An Enquiry into the Belief of the Christians of the first three Centuries respecting the one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. I had not then read much of the controversy, out of which this work of Burgh arose: and I may state that the first publication was *The Apology of Theophilus Lindsey, M.A. on resigning the Vicarage of Catterick, Yorkshire*. London, 1774. Mr. Lindsey resigned his preferment upon the adoption of Unitarian tenets: and his Apology called forth *A Scriptural Confutation of the Arguments against the Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. By a Layman. London, 1774. This Layman was Mr. Burgh: and there appeared at the same time *A Vindication of the Doctrine and Liturgy of the Church of England, occasioned by the Apology of Theophilus Lindsey, M.A.* By George Bingham, B. D. Oxford, 1774. This was followed by *A Vindication of the Worship of the Son and the Holy Ghost against the exceptions of Mr. Theophilus Lindsey from Scripture and Antiquity*. By Thomas Randolph, D. D. President of C. C. C. and Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. Oxford, 1775. About the same time appeared *Remarks on a late Publication, entitled "A Scriptural Confutation, &c."* London, 1775: and soon after Mr. Lindsey published *A Sequel to the Apology on resigning the Vicarage of Catterick, Yorkshire*. London, 1776.

Dr. Randolph then replied in *A Letter to the Remarker on the Layman's Scriptural Confutation, wherein the Divinity of the Son of God is farther vindicated against the Remarker's Exceptions: to which is added an Appendix, taking some notice of Mr. Lindsey's Sequel.* Oxford, 1777. Last of all, Mr. Burgh published the work which I have already mentioned, *An Inquiry into the Belief of the Christians of the first three Centuries, respecting the one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.* York, 1778. There were other works connected with this controversy; and in those which I have mentioned, the reader will find copious references to the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

I have also met with another work, which was before unknown to me, entitled ΤΡΙΟΤΥΠΩΣΙΣ, *sive Catholicæ circa S. S. Trinitatem fidei delineatio, ex scriptis Patrum Ante-Nicænorum desumpta.* Londini, 1677. The author was Dr. Samuel Gardiner; and the design, as may be seen from the title, was very similar to that of the present work. I am not aware, that any important passage, which is adduced by Dr. Gardiner, has been omitted by myself: but his work, which is written in Latin, is so deficient in arrangement, and so little is added to connect or illustrate the quotations, that the obscurity, into which it has fallen, is by no means surprising.

There is another work with the following title, which I have not yet seen: *Testimonies from the*

Writers of the first four Centuries to the Divinity of Christ: by Knowles. London, 1789: and since the publication of my former work there has appeared *Fides Nicæna de Filio Dei, sanctorum Patrum atque Doctorum, qui tribus primis sæculis flourerunt, traditione confirmata.* H. G. Vogelsang. Colonia, 1829. It is a very short work, and does not give many original passages.

LIST OF EDITIONS

REFERRED TO IN THIS WORK.

	A. D.		
Ignatius	107.	{ Patres Apostolici Cotelerii. Amste-	p. 1.
Polycarpus	108.	{ lædami. 2 vol. fol. 1724. }	p. 4.
Justin Martyr	150.	{ Editio Benedictina. Hagæ Comitum. }	p. 15.
Athenagoras	170.	{ fol. 1742. }	p. 28.
Theophilus	180.	{ Editio Benedictina. Massuet. Paris. }	p. 33.
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TESTIMONIES
OF THE
ANTE-NICENE FATHERS
TO
THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRINITY
AND OF THE
DIVINITY OF THE HOLY GHOST.

IGNATIUS, A. D. 107.

Ignatii Epist. ad Magnesianos, §. 7. p. 19.

THE first passage, which I shall quote, is from Ignatius, who exhorts the Magnesians to unity, by saying, “As the Lord did nothing, either by himself or his apostles, without the Father, being united with him; so do you also do nothing without the bishop and elders^a.” Ἠνωμένος is a strong expression, as denoting the *unity* of the Father and the Son; and would hardly, as I conceive, have been applied to any union, which might be said to have existed between God and Moses, or any other prophet. It may be said, perhaps, that Ignatius only intended an unity of purpose or action; and that he shews this by proceeding to speak of the unity between the different members of the church. If this be so, the testimony is not strong

^a Ὅσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ στόλων, οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησε, ἡνωμένους ὄντες, ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μη- οὔτε δι' αὐτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀπο- δὲν πράσσετε.

in favour of the doctrine of the Trinity : but the concluding words of the same chapter are very remarkable, and it is difficult in a translation to express the intimate union and mutual indwelling, which Ignatius seems to have intended : “ All of “ you therefore come together to one temple of God, “ to one altar, to one Jesus Christ, who proceeded “ from one Father, and in that one exists and is “ contained^b.” The last words, εἰς ἓνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα, may remind us of many expressions of the later fathers, and of the doctrine which spoke of the περιχώρησις or *circuminsessio* of the Father and Son, and which bishop Bull explains by “ unio rerum “ sese invicem usquequaque immanentium^c.” I shall have occasion to speak of this doctrine more at length hereafter ; and at present I shall only compare the passage in Ignatius with the following words of Dionysius of Rome, who wrote in the third century : “ The divine Word must be united “ with the God of the universe ; and the Holy “ Ghost must reciprocally pass into and dwell in “ God.” The expressions ἡνωμένος, εἰς ἓνα ὄντα, and χωρήσαντα, of Ignatius, agree with ἡνώσθαι and ἐμφοχωρεῖν of Dionysius ; and there can be no doubt, that the latter writer used them in the sense of a modern Trinitarian, as may be seen in N^o. 71, where the whole passage is quoted.

2. *Ignatii Epist. ad Smyrναeos*, §. 3. p. 35.

We find a similar expression as to the unity of the Father and the Son in the following passage :

^b Πάντες οὖν ὡς εἰς ἓνα ναὸν συντρέχετε Θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀφ' ἐνὸς Πατρὸς προελθόντα, καὶ εἰς

ἓνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα.

^c Def. Fid. Nic. IV. 4. 14.
See the Index to Bull's Works, v. περιχώρησις.

“ After his resurrection he ate and drank with them, “ as a person having a body, although he was spir- “ ritually united to (or one with) the Father^d.” These words prove the two natures of Christ, the divine and the human, if they do not also prove the hypostatical union of the Father and the Son.

Such were the expressions used by Ignatius, who had conversed with the apostles, and wrote at the beginning of the second century. We may suppose also, that there was some traditionary notion of his having held the doctrine of the Trinity, from the following passage in Socrates the ecclesiastical historian, who tells us, “ that the custom of singing “ anthems (τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους) in the church be- “ gan in this way. Ignatius, the third bishop of “ Antioch after the apostle Peter, who had also “ lived with the apostles themselves, saw a vision “ of angels, who answered each other in singing “ hymns to the holy Trinity^e, and he caused the “ church of Antioch to preserve by tradition the “ method which he had observed in this vision : “ from whence also the tradition has spread among “ all churches.” Socrates wrote in the fifth century, and is the earliest writer, who has noticed this anecdote in the life of Ignatius. It may perhaps be re- jected, as not worthy of credit : but it must at least be supposed, that a tradition of this kind was pre- served at Antioch : and the persons, who first in- vented the story, could not have seen any thing in the writings of Ignatius, which made it improbable.

^d Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συν-
έφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ὡς σαρ-
κικὸς, καίπερ πνευματικῶς ἐνωμένος
τῷ πατρί.

^e Ὁκτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ
τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τρι-
άδα ὑμνοῦντων. Hist. Eccl. VI.
8.

It should be added however, in fairness, that the passage does not necessarily mean, that Ignatius received the doctrine of the Trinity from angels, but that he heard angels singing hymns to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the three persons who were described, in the time of Socrates, by the name of the Trinity. The value of this testimony must depend upon the antiquity of the tradition; and that cannot now be ascertained.

POLYCARPUS, A. D. 108.

In my Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ, I did not give any particular account of Polycarp, because no passage was alleged from his writings, though his name was incidentally mentioned in that work, and some facts were alluded to in connexion with his history. The most valuable information concerning him is that furnished by Irenæus, who tells us that he had seen him, and adds, “He had not only been instructed “by the apostles, and had lived with many who “had seen Christ, but had been appointed to the “bishopric of Smyrna by the apostles^f.” Polycarp was a very old man, when Irenæus saw him; and the expression used by himself, of “having served “Christ eighty-six years^g,” is generally taken to mean, that then, at the time of his death, he was eighty-six years old. The time of his death has been fixed at different periods. Eusebius placed it in 167: and the latest date assigned to it is in 175: but Pearson has advanced some strong arguments for supposing it to have happened in 147^h. Ac-

^f III. 3, 4. p. 176.

^g Eus. *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 15. p. 167.

^h Op. Posthum. Chronol. Diss. II. c. 14, &c.

according to this notion he was born about the year 61, or five or six years before the death of St. Peter and St. Paul : and since there is reason to believe, that most of the apostles died soon after that period, we are probably to restrict the expression of Irenæus to Polycarp having lived with St. John, and having been appointed by that apostle to the bishopric of Smyrna. If these words of Irenæus are in any sense to be taken literally, Polycarp must have been bishop of Smyrna before the death of St. John, who was the last surviving apostle : and if St. John wrote his Apocalypse but a short time before his death, we can hardly avoid concluding, that *the angel of the church in Smyrna*, addressed in ii. 8, was Polycarp ; and such was the opinion of Usher and several learned men. Irenæus speaks of Polycarp having gone to Rome, when Anicetus was bishop of that see : and Eusebius supplies the additional fact, that he went thither on account of the dispute between the eastern and western churches concerning the time of celebrating Easterⁱ. Pearson and Dodwell suppose Anicetus to have held the see from 142 to 161 ; which will enable us nearly to fix the date of Polycarp's arrival in Rome, if we also adopt the notion of Pearson, that he suffered martyrdom in 147. The two bishops could not come to any agreement, since both of them urged ancient, if not apostolical authority for the customs of their respective churches. It is pleasing however to read, that the conference was carried on amicably ; and writers of the church of Rome have been perplexed to find it said, that when the two bishops were in the church together, Anicetus allowed Polycarp, as a mark of

ⁱ Hist. Eccl. IV. 14. p. 160. V. 24. p. 249.

honour, to consecrate the eucharist. Polycarp is stated, during this visit to Rome, to have brought back to the church many heretics, who had embraced the tenets of Valentinus and Marcion : and Irenæus informs us, that meeting one day with Marcion himself, who said to him, "Do you recognise me?" he replied, "I recognise the firstborn of Satan."

The martyrdom of Polycarp took place in the amphitheatre of Smyrna, in the presence of the proconsul : and a most interesting account of it was written by the Christians in that city, and sent to the other churches. Eusebius has preserved part of this letter in his Ecclesiastical History, (IV. 15,) and the whole of it was published by archbishop Usher in 1647. We have the authority of Irenæus for the fact of Polycarp having written many epistles : but only one genuine work of this kind has come down to us, which was addressed to the Christians at Philippi. It was published for the first time in Latin by J. Faber Stapulensis in 1498, and in Greek by Peter Halloix in the first volume of his Lives of Oriental Writers, p. 525, in 1633. A fuller and more perfect copy of it was printed by archbishop Usher in 1644.

3. *Epistola Ecclesiæ Smyrnensis de Martyrio Polycarpi.*

The testimony, which I adduce from the words of Polycarp, is not taken from his Epistle to the Philippians, but from the circular Epistle, which was written, as just stated, by the church at Smyrna : and I adduce it, as enabling me to say a few words concerning the form of the ancient doxologies.

The holy martyr, when he was fastened to the stake, and was about to surrender his soul to the

Master, whom he had faithfully served so many years, addressed Him in a solemn and affecting prayer, the last words of which were, "For this
 "and for every thing I praise thee, I bless thee, I
 "glorify thee, together with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, with whom
 "to thee and the Holy Ghost be glory, both now
 "and for evermore. Amen^k."

Such are the concluding words of the prayer in the edition of archbishop Usher: but Eusebius has quoted them differently, "— I glorify thee, through
 "the eternal High Priest Jesus Christ, thy beloved
 "Son, through whom be glory to thee with him
 "in the Holy Ghost, both now and for evermore.
 "Amen^l." The difference between these two forms of expression appears considerable, and is connected in some measure with the Arian controversy: for it is well known, that the Arians, if they would have used the former doxology at all, would have greatly preferred the latter: and Usher seems to hint, that the genuine words of Polycarp may have been altered by a favourer of Arianism. The first of the two forms unites the Son and the Holy Ghost with the Father, and ascribes equal glory to all the three persons: the second seems to place the Father above the two other persons, and by expressions which are not very distinct and intelligible, to glorify the Father *through* the Son and *in* the Holy Ghost. It was remarked so long ago as by Socrates in the

^k Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ περὶ πάντων αἰνῶ σε, εὐλογῶ σε, δοξάζω σε, σὺν τῇ αἰωνίῳ καὶ ἐπουρανίῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, ἀγαπητῷ σου παιδί, μεθ' οὗ σοι καὶ Πνεύματι· Ἀγίῳ ἡ δόξα, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

^l Διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου ἀρχιμερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου παιδός· δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Πνεύματι· Ἀγίῳ δόξα, καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας. p. 169.

fifth century, that one of the grounds for charging Eusebius with Arianism was taken from his using the phrase *through Christ* in his doxologies^m: and that such was his practice, may be seen in some of his works now extantⁿ. It is added however by Socrates, that the phrase was often used by orthodox writers: and bishop Bull observes, that the words *μεθ' οὗ* and *δι' οὗ*, *with whom* and *through whom*, occur in doxologies written before the council of Nice^o. "The early orthodox writers," as bishop Bull goes on to remark, "while they glorified the Father *through the Son*, intended to express the subordination of the Son, in his relation of Son, and the preeminence of the Father, in his relation of Father: but by adoring the Son *together with the Father*, they intended to express his being of one substance and his existing in the same divine essence and nature with the Father." Basil also defends the expression, *through the Son, in the Holy Ghost*, as bearing an orthodox sense^p: and it may be stated generally, that both forms were used indifferently before the council of Nice; but the Arians after that time made a distinction, and glorified the Father, not *together with*, but *through* the Son. Theodoret informs us, that in the middle of the fourth century the clergy and people of Antioch were divided, some using the conjunction *and*, when they glorified the Son, (i. e. saying *and to the*

^m Hist. Eccles. II. 21. p. 105.

ⁿ See the last words of his Panegyric Oration in Hist. Eccles. X. 4. p. 480.

^o Def. Fid. Nic. II. 3. 6. Justin Martyr says, *εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐ-*

τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ διὰ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου. Apol. I. 67. p. 83. Irenæus observes, "in Deo omnipotente *per Jesum Christum* offert ecclesia." IV. 17, 6. p. 249.

^p De Sp. Sancto, c. I. in fin.

Son), and others applying the preposition *through* to the Son, and *in* to the Holy Ghost¹. This was the period, when the dispute concerning the form of doxology became general: and Philostorgius, the Arian historian, is speaking of the same time and place, when he says, “that Flavianus was the first “ person who used the words, *Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost*: for before his time some had said, *Glory to the Father through the Son in the Holy Ghost*, which was “ the expression in most general use; and others, “ *Glory to the Father in the Son and Holy Ghost*.” Nicephorus supplies us with still another form, *Glory to the Father and to the Son in the Holy Ghost*²; which was probably adopted by those who wished to lower the divinity of the third person in the Trinity. Philostorgius is undoubtedly wrong, when he says, that Flavianus was the inventor of the first of these forms, *Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost*. In the passage, which I shall quote at length from Clement of Alexandria, in N^o. 20, thanks are offered “to the Father and to “ the Son with the Holy Ghost:” Hippolytus also says, after speaking of the Son, “to him be glory “ and power with the Father and Holy Ghost in “ the holy church both now and for ever.” Dionysius of Alexandria concludes one of his works with the following words, “To God the Father, and to “ the Son our Lord Jesus Christ, with the Holy “ Ghost, be glory and power for ever and ever³,”

¹ Hist. Eccles. II. 24. p. 106.

² III. 13. p. 495-6.

³ Hist. Eccles. IX. 24. p. 737.

⁴ Αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ἅμα Πατρὶ καὶ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι, ἐν τῇ

ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Cont.

Noëtum, §. ult. p. 20.

⁵ Τῷ δὲ Θεῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ Τίῳ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, σὺν τῷ

having prefaced this doxology by saying, "I conclude what I have now written to you, in accordance with all this, and *having received the form and rule from the old persons who have preceded us, and expressing my thankfulness in words which agree with theirs.*" But a form of equal force, as implying the equality of the three persons, had been used much earlier by Polycarp, where the phrase μεθ' οἷ, *with whom*, can only imply, that equal or the same glory was to be ascribed to the Son as to the Father and the Holy Ghost. Basil, in the treatise already quoted^x, expressly says, that "the church recognises both forms, and rejects neither of them, as destructive of the other—The form, *with whom*, is proper when we are ascribing glory; the form, *through whom*, when we are giving thanks. But it is false, that the phrase, *with whom*, is foreign from the practice of persons of piety; for as many as are led by steadiness of character to prefer a venerable antiquity to novelty, and have preserved the uncorrupted tradition of the fathers in different countries and cities, make use of this phrase^y." And in another place he speaks of the received doxology as one, "which has come to us from the fathers, which we find continuing by an undesigned uniformity of custom in those churches which are uncorrupted^z." He afterwards speaks more in detail of the early writers, who had used the doxology, *to the Father and the Son*, or, *to the Father with the Son*. He names Irenæus, Clement of Rome, Dionysius of Rome,

^x Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Op. p. 100.
Apud Basil. de Sp. S. c. 29.

^x Cap. 29.

^y De Spir. S. c. 7.

^z Ibid. c. 27.

Dionysius of Alexandria, and Origen. He then quotes Africanus, who lived in the third century, as saying, "We give thanks to the Father, who sent "our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and "majesty with the Holy Ghost for ever^a." After which he observes, "Whoever is acquainted with "the hymn of Athenogenes, which he left as a fare- "well-gift to his companions, when he was going "to be burnt, will know what sentiments were held "by the martyrs concerning the Spirit^b." This hymn of Athenogenes is unfortunately lost: but Basil speaks of an evening hymn, which was in general use in his own day, (i. e. A. D. 370,) though he did not know the author of it: and the people, as he says, did not think that they were committing an impiety, when they joined in the words, "We "praise the Father, and Son, and holy Spirit of "God^c." This ancient evening hymn is probably extant: at least the Greek church still makes use of one, which contains the words quoted above by Basil, and which has sometimes been ascribed erroneously to Athenogenes. The hymn, as edited by Dr. Routh, is as follows:

"O Jesus Christ, the joyous light of the blessed
"glory of the immortal Father, who is in heaven,
"holy and blessed, having come to the setting of
"the sun, having seen the evening light, we praise
"the Father, Son, and holy Spirit of God. Worthy

^a Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ παρασχομένῳ
ταῖς ἰδίαις ἡμῶν Πατρὶ τὸν τῶν ὅλων
σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν
Χριστὸν, ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ μεγαλω-
σύνη σὺν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας. See Routh, *Rel. Sacr.*
vol. II. p. 194.

^b Cave places Athenogenes
A. D. 196. See *Act. Sanct.*
Jan. 18. Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.*
vol. V. p. 195.

^c Αἰνοῦμεν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ
Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ.

“ art thou at all times to be praised by holy voices,
 “ Son of God, who givest life : wherefore the world
 “ glorifieth thee ^d.”

If this is the hymn alluded to by Basil, and which was so ancient, that he did not know the author of it, there are good grounds for giving it this place among the Ante-Nicene testimonies to the doctrine of the Trinity.

Basil then proceeds to pass a high eulogium upon Gregory, surnamed Thaumaturgus, who was bishop of Neocæsarea in Cappadocia, and flourished about A. D. 254. He does not quote any passage from his writings, but appeals to the notoriety of the fact, that the form of doxology, which was objected to by the heretics, had been constantly used in the church, because it was handed down from a man of such celebrity as Gregory. He says the same of Firmilianus, who was a bishop in the same country a few years earlier ; and also of Meletius, whose name is omitted by Cave, but who is evidently the same person mentioned by Athanasius ^e, as being present at the council of Nice.

I might perhaps have been excused, if I had translated the whole of this passage, which contains such an interesting assemblage of Ante-Nicene tes-

^d Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης ἀθανάτου Πατρὸς, οὐρανίου, ἁγίου, μακάρος, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ· ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἡλίου δύσιν, ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινόν, ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ. “ Ἀξίως εἶ ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς ὁσίοις, Τίε Θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς· διὸ ὁ κόσμος σε δοξάζει. Rel. Sacr. vol. III. p. 298. Dr. Routh feels no doubt as to the Ante-Nicene antiquity of this hymn. It was published

by Smith in his *Miscellanea*, p. 151 ; and by Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* vol. V. p. 196.

^e Epist. ad Episc. Ægypt. 8. p. 278. He is mentioned by Eusebius as bishop of a church in Pontus : (H. E. VII. ult.) and according to Philostorgius, he was bishop of Sebastopolis. (lib. I. p. 478.) See Valesius ad Eus. *l. c.*

timonies : but I am contented with quoting merely those parts, which contain actual fragments of the writers themselves : and unless we suppose Basil to have been the most imprudent as well as the most deceitful of men, he would never have made this appeal to antiquity, when he was defending himself for ascribing the same glory to the Son and the Holy Ghost, as to the Father.

It is true, that Eusebius appears to have found a different reading in his copy of Polycarp's prayer : and a critical question like this can never be demonstrably settled. It is however worthy of remark, that in the letter of the church of Smyrna, alluded to above, we find the following expression at the close of it : " We wish you health, brethren, while " you walk according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, " with whom be glory to God the Father and the " Holy Ghost^f." The words are almost literally the same as those used by Polycarp, and in their meaning are precisely equivalent : so that if they do not lead us to conclude, that Usher's edition gives the true reading, they at least supply us with another passage of the same date, in which the Son is made a partaker in glory with the Father and the Holy Ghost. A similar passage occurs in that very ancient and interesting document, *the Martyrdom of Ignatius*, concerning the genuineness of which little or no doubt is entertained. It ends with these words, " — in Christ Jesus our Lord, " through whom and with whom be glory and

^f Ἐβρῶσθαι ὑμᾶς εὐχόμεθα, ἀδελφοί, στοιχοῦντας τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον λόγῳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ δοξα τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ

Πνεύματι. This concluding part of the Epistle, which is not quoted by Eusebius, is added by Valesius in his notes, p. 171.

“power to the Father with the Holy Ghost for “ever^g.” Here we find both the forms, *through whom and with whom*: and so in fact do we read in the prayer of Polycarp as given by Eusebius, where the words δι’ οὗ σὺν αὐτῷ are equivalent to δι’ οὗ καὶ μεθ’ οὗ, and thus even Eusebius makes Polycarp ascribe glory to the Father *together with the Son*. For the preposition *with* being equivalent to the conjunction *and* in these doxologies, I would refer to Basil. l. c. c. 25.

The question now remains, whether doxologies such as these do not prove, that the doctrine of the Trinity was held by those who used them; whether such persons did not believe, that the Son and the Holy Ghost, who were equal in glory with the Father, were also of the same nature and substance. It might seem trifling to enquire, whether created beings could ever be put upon an equality in glory and power with God: and we may say with Athanasius, when he is speaking of the form used in baptism, “What communion is there between the “creature and the Creator? why is the thing made “numbered with Him who made it^h?” or with Basil, “We say that beings of the same dignity are “to be coupled together; but where there are degrees of inferiority, one must be enumerated after “the otherⁱ.” We may here refer to the Arians themselves as allowing, that doxologies, such as that used by Polycarp, were not agreeable to their own

^g Ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, δι’ οὗ καὶ μεθ’ οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς αἰῶνας. Apud Cotelier. vol. II. p. 162.

^h Orat. cont. Arian. II. 41.

p. 508.

ⁱ Ἡμεῖς τοῖς μὲν ὁμοτίμοις φαμέν τὴν συναρίθμωσιν πρέπειν τοῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον παρηλλαγμένοις τὴν ὑπαρίθμωσιν. De Sp. San. c. 17.

theories concerning the nature of Christ: for why then did they prefer the other form, which glorified God, not *with Christ*, but *through Christ*^k? It is however demonstrable, that the form *with Christ* was used as early as the second century: and I therefore conclude, that the doctrine of the Trinity, which considers the three persons in the Godhead to be co-equal, was held in the second century by Polycarp, who was the immediate disciple of St. John^l.

JUSTINUS MARTYR. A. D. 150.

4. *Justin. Apol.* I. 6. p. 47.

In the present instance I must depart from my usual plan of giving a translation of the passage, and adding the original in a note: for the Greek words have been cited with such opposite views, and translated in so many different ways, that it is absolutely necessary to lay them in the first instance before the reader. Justin is answering the charge of atheism, which was brought against the Christians, and observes, that they were punished for not worshipping evil demons, which were not really gods. Ἐνθένδε καὶ ἄθεοι κελήμεθα. Καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἄθεοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῦ ἀληθεστάτου καὶ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν, ἀνεπιμίκτου τε κακίας Θεοῦ. Ἄλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ γένοντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, [καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἑξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατὸν,] πνεῦμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες, καὶ παντὶ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, ἀφθόνως παραδιδόντες.

^k See Basil. de Spiritu Sancto. to Suicer's Thesaurus, v. Δοξολογία, and to bishop Bull's Def.

^l The reader may be referred Fid. Nic. II. 3, 6, &c.

With the exception of the words, which I have included in brackets, there can be no difficulty in translating this passage. "Hence it is that we are called atheists: and we confess that we are atheists with respect to such reputed gods as these: but not with respect to the true God, the Father of justice, temperance, and every other virtue, with whom is no mixture of evil. But Him, and the Son who came from Him and gave us this instruction, and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore, paying them a reasonable and true honour, and not refusing to deliver to any one else, who wishes to be taught, what we ourselves have learnt."

With respect to the words included in brackets, Roman catholic writers have quoted them as supporting the worship of angels: and if we connect τὸν στρατὸν immediately with σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, Justin certainly appears to say, "We reverence and worship the Father, and the Son, and the host of the other good angels which attend upon and resemble them." Bellarmin refers to the passage with this view^m: and Prudentius Maranus, the Benedictine editor of Justin Martyr, argues at some length in his prefaceⁿ, that the words cannot receive any other interpretation. Scultetus, a protestant divine of Heidelberg, in his *Medulla Theologiæ Patrum*^o, which appeared in 1605, gave a totally different meaning to the passage, and instead of connecting τὸν στρατὸν with σεβόμεθα, connected it with διδάξαντα. The words would then be rendered thus: "But Him, and the Son who came from

^m De Beatitudine Sanctorum, I. 13.

ⁿ Part II. c. IV. p. xxi.

^o Cap. 18. p. 40.

“ Him, who also gave us instructions concerning
 “ these things, and concerning the host of the other
 “ good angels, we worship &c.” This interpretation
 is adopted and defended at some length by bishop
 Bull^p, and by Stephen Le Moyne^q; and even the
 Benedictine Le Nourry^r supposed Justin to mean,
 that Christ had taught us not to worship the bad
 angels, as well as the existence of good angels.
 Grabe, in his edition of Justin’s Apology, which
 was printed in 1703, adopted another interpreta-
 tion, which had been before proposed by Le Moyne
 and by Cave^s. This also connects τὸν στρατὸν with
 διδάξαντα, and would require us to render the pas-
 sage thus: “ — and the Son who came from Him,
 “ who also taught these things to us and to the host
 “ of the other angels &c.” It might be thought,
 that Langus, who published a Latin translation of
 Justin in 1565, meant to adopt one of these inter-
 pretations, or at least to connect τὸν στρατὸν with
 διδάξαντα. Both of them certainly are ingenious,
 and are not perhaps opposed to the literal construc-
 tion of the Greek words: but I cannot say that
 they are satisfactory; or that I am surprised at
 Roman catholic writers describing them as forced
 and violent attempts to evade a difficulty. If the
 words enclosed in brackets were removed, the whole
 passage would certainly contain a strong argument
 in favour of the Trinity: but as they now stand,
 Roman catholic writers will naturally quote them
 as supporting the worship of angels. There is how-
 ever this difficulty in such a construction of the

^p Def. Fid. Nic. II. 4. 8. A-
 nimadv. in G. Clerke, §. 21.

^q Var. Sacr. vol. II. p. 185.

^r Diss. II. §. xvi. p. 414.

^s Primitive Christianity, p. 13.

passage: it proves too much: by coupling the angels with the three persons of the Trinity, as objects of religious adoration, it seems to go beyond even what Roman catholics themselves would maintain concerning the worship of angels. Their well-known distinction between λατρεία and δουλεία would be entirely confounded: and the difficulty felt by the Benedictine editor appears to have been as great, as his attempt to explain it is unsuccessful, when he wrote as follows: “Our adversaries in vain object “the twofold expression, σέβομεν καὶ προσκυνούμεν, *we worship and adore*. For the former is applied to “angels themselves, regard being had to the distinction between the creature and the Creator: “the latter by no means necessarily includes the “angels.” This sentence requires concessions, which no opponent could be expected to make: and if one of the two terms, σέβομεν καὶ προσκυνούμεν, may be applied to angels, it is unreasonable to contend that the other must not also. Perhaps however the passage may be explained so as to admit a distinction of this kind. The interpretations of Scultetus and Grabe have not found many advocates: and upon the whole I should be inclined to conclude, that the clause, which relates to the angels, is connected particularly with the words λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ τιμῶντες.

A transposition was proposed by Dr. Ashton, who published an edition of the two Apologies in 1768, which would make this construction still more apparent, and would in fact remove every difficulty. He proposes to place the words, which I have included in brackets, after τιμῶντες. The passage would then be as follows: “But Him, and the Son who “came from Him and gave us this instruction, and

“ the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore rationally and truly, honouring also the host of the “ other angels &c.” This transposition has been adopted by Mr. Lowe, in his Letter to Dr. Milner, and in an article published in the British Critic, for January 1830, p. 165. It would certainly deprive the Roman catholics of the use which they make of this passage, and would at once point out the distinction between the adoration paid to God, and the honour given to created and ministering spirits. If we were to adopt the transposition at all, I should perhaps place the words after προσκυνούμεν, and so connect λόγῳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ with the honour paid to the angels. Justin might be supposed to use the words *rationally and truly* with reference to the irrational and false worship which he had lately been exposing, as paid by the heathen to evil demons. But upon the whole I cannot bring myself to do such violence to the text upon mere conjecture, and in the face of every manuscript. The transposition would be convenient, and perhaps decisive: but in such cases it is the part of criticism as well as of candour to say,

Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis

Tempus eget :

and I would rather give up the passage to the Roman catholics, and call upon them to rescue Justin from the charge of confounding the creature with the Creator: or (which is perhaps the safe and true course) we may fairly extract from the passage the same meaning which is given to it by Dr. Ashton, without having recourse to his unauthorized transposition.

Justin, as I observed, is defending the Christians

from the charge of atheism: and after saying that the gods, whom they refused to worship, were no gods, but evil demons, he points out what were the Beings, who were worshipped by the Christians. He names the true God, who is the source of all virtue; the Son, who proceeded from him; the good and ministering spirits; and the Holy Ghost. To these Beings, he says, we pay all the worship, adoration, and honour, which is due to each of them: i. e. worship, where worship is due, and honour, where honour is due. The Christians were accused of worshipping no gods, that is, of acknowledging no superior beings at all. Justin shews, that so far was this from being true, that they acknowledged more than one order of spiritual Beings: they offered divine worship to the true God, and they also believed in the existence of good spirits, which were entitled to honour and respect. If the reader will view the passage as a whole, he will perhaps see that there is nothing violent in thus restricting the words *σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν*, and *τιμῶντες*, to certain parts of it respectively. It may seem strange, that Justin should mention the ministering spirits before the Holy Ghost: but this is a difficulty, which presses upon the Roman catholics as much as upon ourselves: and we may perhaps adopt the explanation of the bishop of Lincoln, who says, “I have sometimes thought that in this passage *καὶ τὸν—στρατὸν* is equivalent to *μετὰ τοῦ—στρατοῦ*, and that Justin had in his mind the glorified state of Christ, when he should come to judge “the world, surrounded by the host of heaven^t.”

^t Some account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr, p. 53. A similar remark is made by Basil concern-

The bishop then brings several passages from Justin, where the Son of God is spoken of, as attended by a company of angels: and if this idea was then in Justin's mind, it might account for his naming the ministering spirits immediately after the Son of God, rather than after the Holy Ghost, which would have been the natural and proper order.

That this was the meaning of Justin, and that he did not intend to include the angels in that divine worship, which is paid to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, may appear from a similar passage in the same Apology, where no mention is made of angels. "That we are not atheists, who would not acknowledge, when we worship the Creator of this universe, and Jesus Christ, who was our instructor in these things, knowing him to be the Son of this true God, and assigning to him the second place? And I shall prove presently, that we honour the prophetic Spirit in the third rank, and that we are reasonable in so doing." If this passage should appear at first sight to represent an inequality between the three persons of the Trinity, and particularly with respect to the third person, it may at least prove, that in the former passage the writer did not mean to assign a *fourth* place to the Holy Ghost, and after the ministering spirits: for he here distinctly says, that the prophetic Spirit has the *third* place: and there is no reason to suppose, that Justin meant to say any thing more, than what

ing St. Paul's mention of angels in 1 Tim. v. 21. *De Spir. S.* c. 12.

"Ἄθεοι μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἔσμεν, τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι, — τίς σωφρόνων οὐχ ὁμο-

λογήσει; τὸν διδάσκαλόν τε τούτων γενόμενον ἡμῖν, — Τίον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ μαθόντες, καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες Πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν, ἀποδείξομεν. c. 13. p. 50, 51.

is and must be said by the soundest Trinitarian, that the Father is the first person, the Son is the second person, and the Holy Ghost is the third person in a co-equal and co-eternal Trinity.

Further light may be thrown upon the sentiments of Justin, and upon the construction of the controverted passage, if we compare it with another in the Legation of Athenagoras, where the same train of reasoning is pursued, but where a marked difference is preserved between the three persons of the Trinity and the angels. "Who would not be astonished to hear us called atheists, when we speak of the Father as God, and the Son as God, and the Holy Ghost, shewing at the same time their power in unity, and their distinction in order? Nor does the system of our theology stop here: but we say that there is a multitude of angels and ministers, whom God the Maker and Creator of the world distributed by the Word proceeding from himself, and appointed them their stations at the elements and the heavens, the world and every thing therein, and the harmony of them^x." There are some passages in Origen which agree still more remarkably with the words of Justin, and shew plainly what were the sentiments of the fathers concerning the honour due to angels. In his work against Celsus, he says, "Because together with God we worship his Son, Celsus thinks that it follows upon

^x Τίς οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι, λέγοντας Θεὸν Πατέρα καὶ Τῶν Θεῶν καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, δεικνύντας αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τάξει διαίρεσιν, ἀκούσας ἀθέους καλουμένους; καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖτοις τὸ θεολογικὸν ἡμῶν ἵσταται μέρος; ἀλλὰ καὶ πλῆθος ἀγγέλων καὶ λειτουργῶν

φαμέν, οὓς ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ δημιουργὸς κόσμου Θεὸς διὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγου διένειμε, καὶ διέταξε περὶ τε τὰ στοιχεῖα εἶναι καὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν τούτων εὐταξίαν. c. 10. p. 287. See also the passage quoted from Athenagoras, c. 24. in No. 8.

“ our principles, that not only God, but his ministers also are worshipped (*θεραπεύεσθαι*). If he had meant those beings who are truly ministers of God after his only begotten Son, such as Gabriel, and Michael, and the other angels and archangels, and had said that these ought to be worshipped; perhaps after having purified (*ἐκκαθάρσαντες*) the meaning of the term *worship*, (*θεραπεύειν*), and the actions of the worshipper, I might have explained what conceptions we are able to form concerning them.” He afterwards says, “ If we see certain beings appointed to these offices, not demons, but angels, we address them as blessed and happy, (*εὐφημοῦμεν καὶ μακαρίζομεν*), but we do not pay to them the honour (*τιμὴν*) which is paid to God^z,” which agrees with what he had said at the beginning of this work, that we are to believe in “ the supreme God, and in him who taught us to worship (*σέβειν*) him only, and to pass by all other objects, either as having no real existence, or, if they exist, as being worthy of honour, but not of adoration and worship, (*προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβασμοῦ*^a).” All these passages taken together may lead us to conclude, that Justin Martyr considered the Son and the Holy Ghost as objects of religious worship. He makes no distinction between the adoration paid to them and to the Father: and when called upon to prove that the Christians were not atheists, he proves that they worshipped God, because they worshipped the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

^y VIII. 13. p. 751.

^z Ib. 57. p. 785.

^a I. 11. p. 329. See also Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* IV. 10. p. 148. VII. 15. p. 327. *Dem.*

Evang. III. p. 106, 107. in all of which places the distinction is observed between *τιμῆν* and *σέβειν*.

5. *Justin. Dial. cum Tryph.* 56. p. 152.

The next quotation requires us to bear in mind what I mentioned in my former work, (No. 23.) that whenever God is said in the Old Testament to have revealed himself, or to have been seen by any person, it was not the Father, but the Son. Justin, as I then stated, is very diffuse in establishing this position : and many of the passages which are thus explained compel us to conclude, that he applied the term *God* to *the Son* in the fullest and highest signification. He now shews that he did not understand this manifestation of the Father by the Son in a Sabellian sense : and though theology had not yet employed any Greek term equivalent to *person*, he sufficiently expresses the distinct personality of the Father and the Son.

“ Returning to the Scriptures, I will endeavour
 “ to persuade you, that this God, who is said in the
 “ Scriptures to have been seen by Abraham and
 “ Jacob and Moses, is a different Being from the
 “ God who created the universe ; I mean different
 “ in number, (or numerically,) but not in counsel :
 “ for I affirm, that he never did any thing, except
 “ what the Creator himself, above whom there is
 “ no other God, wished him to do or to say^b.”

The word *person*, as I have observed, not having yet come into use in this sense, Justin could hardly have employed any other which would more plainly convey an idea of distinct individuality than ἀριθμῶ,

^b Ἐπὶ τὰς γραφὰς ἐπανελθὼν, πειράσομαι πείσαι ὑμᾶς, ὅτι οὗτος ὃς τε τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τῷ Ἰακώβ καὶ τῷ Μωσῇ ὤφθαι λεγόμενος καὶ γεγραμμένος Θεὸς ἑπεὶ ἔστι τοῦ τὰ πάντα ποιήσαντος Θεοῦ, ἀριθμῶ λέγω,

ἀλλ' οὐ γνώμη· οὐδὲν γὰρ φημι αὐτὸν πεπραχέναι ποτε, ἢ ἄπερ αὐτὸς ὁ τὸν κόσμον ποιήσας, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστι Θεός, βεβούληται καὶ πράξαι καὶ ἐμιλήσαι.

numerically. The following passages will also shew that something like Sabellianism had already been maintained, but that Justin was decidedly opposed to it. “The Jews, who think that it was always the Father of the universe who talked with Moses, whereas the person who spoke to him was the Son of God, who is also called an angel and apostle, are justly convicted of knowing neither the Father nor the Son : for they who say that the Son is the Father, are convicted of neither understanding the Father, nor of knowing that the Father of the universe has a Son, who also being the first-born Logos of God, is likewise God^c.” He speaks still more plainly in the following passage : “I am aware that there are some who wish to meet this by saying, that the power which appeared from the Father of the universe to Moses, or Abraham, or Jacob, is called *an angel* in his coming among men, since by this the will of the Father is made known to men : he is also called *Glory*, since he is sometimes seen in an unsubstantial appearance : sometimes he is called *a man*, since he appears under such forms as the Father pleases : and they call him *the Word*, since he is also the bearer of messages from the Father to men. But they say, that this power is unseparated and undivided from the Father, in the same manner that the light of the sun when on earth is unseparated and undivided from the sun in heaven ; and when it sets, the light is removed with it : so the Father, they say, when he wishes, makes his power go forth ; and when he wishes, he brings it back again to himself. In this same manner, according to their

^c Apol. I. 63. p. 81.

“ doctrine, he also made the angels^d.” This is little else than Sabellianism: and Justin shews his own opinion of such an irrational hypothesis when he goes on to say, “ But that there are angels, and that “ they continue always to exist, and are not resolved “ into that out of which they were produced, has “ been proved above: and I have also proved at “ some length, that this power, which the prophetic language speaks of as God, and as an “ angel, has not a mere nominal enumeration like “ the light of the sun, but also in number [i. e. in “ numerical individuality] is something different^e.”

We have here the same term, ἀριθμῶ, used, as I have explained it, for *numerical individuality*: and though the sun, and the light proceeding from the sun, are not in fact one and the same, yet Justin says, that the Father and the Son are still more numerically distinct: which demonstrably proves that he was entirely opposed to the Sabellian hypothesis: and his conclusion of this part of the argument is, that “ that which is begotten is numerically different from that which begets it^f.” He nevertheless made use of the analogy of the sun and its effulgence to illustrate the manner in which the Son proceeded from the Father: and the persons who anticipated Sabellius replied to his argument by saying, that the substance of the Father was thus divided into two. To which Justin answers, “ I “ have explained in a few words before, that this

^d Dial. cum Tryph. 128. p. 221.

^e Καὶ ὅτι δύναμις αὐτῇ, ἣν καὶ Θεὸν καλεῖ ὁ προφητικὸς Λόγος, διὰ πολλῶν ὡσαύτως ἀποδεδεικται, καὶ ἄγγελον, οὐχ ὡς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς

ὀνόματι μόνον ἀριθμεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀριθμῶ ἕτερόν τι ἐστί. The term ἀριθμῶ is thrice used in a similar sense in §. 129. p. 222.

^f Τὸ γεννώμενον τοῦ γεννώντος ἀριθμῶ ἕτερόν ἐστι.

“ Power was begotten by the Father, by his power
 “ and will, and not by being severed from him, as
 “ if the substance of the Father was divided in the
 “ same manner as all other things which are divided
 “ and severed are not the same as they were before
 “ they were severed : and I used as an example the
 “ fires lighted from another fire, which we see to be
 “ different, though that from which many may be
 “ lighted is not diminished, but continues the same^g.”
 The passage to which he alludes was probably this,
 “ As in the case of fire, we see another fire produced,
 “ though that from which it is lighted is not dimin-
 “ ished, but continues the same ; and that which is
 “ lighted from it appears to have its own existence,
 “ without diminishing that from which it was
 “ lighted^h.” Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr,
 made use of the same illustration to express the ge-
 neration of the Sonⁱ: but I shall not dwell longer
 upon this part of the subject, which has been so
 profoundly investigated by bishop Bull^k; and I have
 only noticed these expressions in the writings of the
 fathers, as shewing that they believed the Son to be
 of the same nature or substance with the Father,
 and yet to be personally distinct from him.

g —είπων τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην
 γεγενῆσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς δυνάμει
 καὶ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ’ οὐ κατ’ ἀπο-
 τομῇ, ὡς ἀπομεριζομένης τῆς τοῦ Πα-
 τρὸς οὐσίας, ὅποια τὰ ἄλλα πάντα
 μερίζομενα καὶ τεμνόμενα, οὐ τὰ
 αὐτὰ ἐστὶν ἃ καὶ πρὶν τμηθῆναι· καὶ
 παραδείγματος χάριν παρειλήφειν τὰ
 ὡς ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀναπτόμενα πυρὰ ἕτερα
 ὁρῶμεν, οὐδὲν ἐλαττουμένου ἐκείνου ἐξ
 οὗ ἀναφθῆναι πολλὰ δύνανται, ἀλλὰ

ταύτου μένοντος. Pag. 221, 222.

^h Καὶ ὅποιον ἐπὶ πυρὸς ὁρῶμεν
 ἄλλο γινόμενον, οὐκ ἐλαττουμένου
 ἐκείνου ἐξ οὗ ἡ ἀναψις γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ μένοντος, καὶ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ
 ἀναφθῆν καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ φαίνεται, οὐκ
 ἐλαττωσαν ἐκεῖνο ἐξ οὗ ἀνήφθη.
 Dial. cum Tryph. 61. p. 158.

ⁱ Orat. c. Græcos, 5. p.
 247, 248.

^k Def. Fid. Nic. II. 4.

ATHENAGORAS, A. D. 170.

6. *Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis*, c. 10. p. 286-7.

The following passage, which was written towards the end of the second century, may surprise those persons who have allowed themselves to believe that the mystery of the Trinity is a recent invention. Athenagoras is explaining the belief of the Christians in the Father and the Son, and after stating the latter to be the Logos of the Father, which Logos is either in the mind, or displayed in the action, he adds, "For all things were made by him and through him, the Father and the Son being one: and since the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son, by the unity and power of the Spirit, the Son of God is the Mind and Word of God¹." This passage is followed shortly after by that which I have quoted at p. 22. where Athenagoras says, "We speak of the Father as God, and the Son as God, and the Holy Ghost, shewing at the same time their power in unity, and their distinction in order."

7. *Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis*, c. 12. p. 289.

The following passage is still more remarkable, in which Athenagoras, after contrasting the expectations of a future life, which the heathen could have, with the sure and certain hope of a Christian, observes, "But we who look upon this present life as worth little or nothing, and are conducted through it by the sole principle of knowing God and the Word proceeding from him, of knowing what is

¹ Πρὸς αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, ἐνὸς ὄντος τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ· ὅντος δὲ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Πατρὸς ἐν Υἱῷ, ἐνότητι καὶ δυνάμει Πνεύματος, νοῦς καὶ Λόγος

τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. For the explanations of this passage I would refer to Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* II. 4, 9. and Waterland, vol. III. p. 72.

“ the unity of the Son with the Father, what is the
“ communion of the Father with the Son, [or, what
“ the Father communicates to the Son,] what is the
“ Spirit, what is the union of this number of per-
“ sons, the Spirit, the Son, the Father, and in what
“ way they who are united are divided——shall we
“ not have credit given us for being worshippers of
“ God^m?”

8. *Athenag. Legat. pro Christianis*, c. 24. p. 302.

The following passage is obscure, and requires the reader to be acquainted with the peculiar language of the fathers: but the general meaning of it cannot be mistaken. “ We speak of God, and the Son his
“ Word, and the Holy Ghost, which are united in
“ their essence, the Father, the Son, the Spirit, be-
“ cause the Son is the Mind, Reason, or Wisdom of
“ the Father; and the Spirit is an emanation, as
“ light from fireⁿ.” If it be said, that the person-
ality of the second and third persons in the Trinity
could hardly have been believed by Athenagoras,
when he speaks of the Son as the Mind of God, and
of the Holy Ghost as an emanation, ἀπόρροια, it may

^m Ἄνθρωποι δὲ, τὸν μὲν ἐνταῦθα
ὀλίγου καὶ μικροῦ τινος ἄξιον βίον
λελογισμένοι, ὑπὸ μόνου δὲ παρα-
πεμπόμενοι τοῦ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν παρ’
αὐτοῦ Λόγον εἰδέναι, τίς ἢ τοῦ παιδὸς
πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἐνότης, τίς ἢ τοῦ
Πατρὸς πρὸς τὸν Τίον κοινωνία, τί τὸ
πνεῦμα, τίς ἢ τῶν τοσούτων ἕνωσις,
καὶ διαίρεσις ἐνομένων, τοῦ Πνεύμα-
τος, τοῦ παιδὸς, τοῦ Πατρὸς,—ἀπισ-
τούμεθα θεοσεβεῖν; I have adopted
the Benedictine editor’s emenda-
tion of τοῦ τὸν Θεὸν for τοῦτου ὃν
ἴσως Θεόν.

ⁿ Θεὸν φαμέν, καὶ Τίον, τὸν Λόγον
αὐτοῦ, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐνούμενα

μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν, τὸν Πατέρα, τὸν
Τίον, τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὅτι νοῦς, Λόγος,
σοφία Τίος τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἀπόρροια,
ὡς φῶς ἀπὸ πυρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα. The
Benedictine editor explains δύ-
ναμις in this passage to mean
οὐσία, and so I have translated
it. Ἐνούμενα μὲν κατὰ δύναμιν
may remind us of τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει
δύναμιν, as quoted from this
same writer at p. 22. and there
seem to be some words wanting
here, such as διαιρούμενα δὲ κατὰ
τάξιν: but I suspect a longer la-
cuna.

be answered, that these expressions were used by the fathers merely as illustrations. It seems probable that they borrowed the illustration from the Platonizing Jews of Alexandria, who had learned almost to personify the mind or reason of God, as may be seen in the works of Philo Judæus; and had taken to speak of wisdom, as *the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from (ἀνόρροια) the glory of the Almighty.* (Wisd. vii. 25.) It may be demonstrated, that these Alexandrian Jews did not really mean to speak of Wisdom, or the Reason of God, as distinctly existing persons^o: but the Christian fathers found their expressions so very applicable to an idea of personality, that they borrowed them, when speaking of the Son and the Holy Ghost: though they guard against the notion of these expressions being applied too literally, and say repeatedly, that the Father and the Son are *numerically*, i. e. personally, different. Still, however, the Mind or Reason of God, which is not the same as God, though inseparably united with him, furnished some analogy for the unity and the distinction of the Father and the Son: and the Holy Ghost was spoken of as an efflux or emanation, because such an expression conveys some idea of a being proceeding from God, while it excludes the notion of creation. Expressions such as these, if they stood alone in the writings of the fathers, though they demonstrate that the Son and the Holy Ghost could not have been looked upon as created beings, might yet seem to present an agreement with the Sabellian hypothesis: but other expressions, as

^o I may refer the reader for a consideration of this subject to the seventh of my Bampton Lectures.

I have already shewn, are directly opposed to this notion: and hence we conclude by comparing the fathers with themselves, and with each other, that they neither divided the substance, nor confounded the persons, in the Godhead.

I ought, perhaps, in this place to introduce the testimony of a heathen writer, who was a contemporary of Athenagoras: and the passage which has often been adduced from the *Philopatris* of Lucian, must certainly be considered as confirming in a remarkable manner the belief of a Trinity in Unity. The speakers in this dialogue are Critias and Triephton; the former an heathen, the latter a Christian; and when Critias has offered to swear by different heathen deities, each of which is objected to by Triephton, he asks, "By whom then shall I swear?" to which Triephton makes the following reply, the first words of which are a quotation from Homer,

"By the great God, immortal, in the heavens;

"The Son of the Father, the Spirit proceeding from
"the Father, one out of three, and three out of one,

"Consider these thy Jove, be this thy God."

Critias then ridicules this "arithmetical oath," and says, "I cannot tell what you mean by saying that
"one is three, and three are one^p."

There can be no doubt, that when this dialogue was written, it was commonly known to the heathen, that the Christians believed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, though in one sense three, in another sense to be one: and if the dialogue was writ-

^p Trieph. Ὑψιμέδοντα θεὸν, μέγαν, ἀμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα, Τιδὸν Πατρός, Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία,

Ταῦτα νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ Θεόν.
Crit.—οὐκ οὔδα γὰρ τί λέγεις,
ἓν τρία, τρία ἓν. c. 12. p. 596.

ten by Lucian, who lived in the latter part of the second century, it would be one of the strongest testimonies remaining to the doctrine of the Trinity. This was acknowledged by Socinus, who says in one of his works, "that he had never read any thing which gave greater proof of a worship of the Trinity being then received among Christians, than the passage which is brought from the dialogue entitled *Philopatris*, and which is reckoned among the works of Lucian^q." He then observes, that the dialogue is generally supposed by the learned to be falsely ascribed to Lucian; and he adds some arguments which might make the passage of less weight, in proving that all Christians of that day believed a Trinity in Unity. I have no inclination to notice these arguments: but Socinus was correct in saying, that the learned had generally decided against the genuineness of this dialogue as a work of Lucian. Bishop Bull^r believed it to be genuine, and Fabricius^s was inclined to do the same. Some have ascribed it to a writer older than the time of Lucian; others, to one of the same age; and others, to much later periods. I need only refer the reader to discussions of the subject by Dodwell^t, Blondell^u, Lardner^x, &c.: but J. M. Gesner has considered the question in a long and able Disserta-

^q Nec vero nobis quidquam hactenus legere contigit, quod trini istius Dei a Christianis jam tum recepti et culti fidem facere videatur magis, quam quæ ex dialogo, qui *Philopatris* inscribitur, et inter Luciani opera numeratur, ad id probandum affert Genebrardus, lib. I. et II. de Trinitate. *Defens. Animadv. adversus Gab. Eutropium*, c. 15.

p. 698.

^r Def. Fid. Nic. II. 4, 11. Jud. Eccl. Cath. IV. 4.

^s Bibl. Gr. vol. III. p. 504. Lux. Evang. p. 153.

^t De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali, p. 284.

^u De Episcopis et Presbyteris, p. 228.

^x Credibility, Art. *Lucian*. vol. VII. p. 285, &c.

tion^y, the object of which is to prove that the Philopatris was written in the reign of Julian the apostate. His arguments appear to me to deserve much attention; and though the learned do not seem in general to have adopted his conclusion, I feel so far convinced by them, that I cannot bring forward this remarkable passage, as the testimony of a writer of the second century.

THEOPHILUS, A. D. 180.

In my former work I gave no account of this father, (though his writings were incidentally quoted,) because the passages, which I wish to adduce, not only support the doctrine of Christ's divinity, but of the Trinity, and may therefore be more suitably introduced in this place.

Some doubts have been raised concerning the identity and the date of Theophilus: but it seems to be generally agreed, that the person whose works have come down to us was the sixth bishop of Antioch, and was appointed to that see about the year 168. He tells us himself, that he had been bred up in heathenism, and it is plain that his language and thoughts retained a lasting impression from the Platonic philosophy. None of his genuine works have come down to us, except three books addressed to Autolycus, who was a friend of Theophilus, and a man of profound learning, but strongly opposed to Christianity. Theophilus is supposed to have written this work at the beginning of the reign of Commodus, and to have died soon after, about the year 181.

^y Published in Vol. III. of the edition of Lucian by Reitzius, 1743.

9. *Theophili ad Autolycum* lib. II. c. 15. p. 360.

I quote this passage, not on account of the sentiment which it contains, (for the allusion is sufficiently puerile,) but because it is the earliest passage in the works of any of the fathers, where we find the Greek word *Τριάς*, *Trinity*^z: and we can thus prove, that the term was applied to the three persons of the Trinity as early as toward the end of the second century.

Theophilus had been giving an account of the creation, as described by Moses in the book of Genesis; and following that allegorical method of interpretation, which the fathers borrowed too freely from the schools of Alexandria, he extracts a hidden meaning from the fact of the heavenly bodies being created on the fourth day. "In like manner also "the three days, which preceded the luminaries, are "types of the Trinity, of God and his Word and "his Wisdom^a." It is not necessary to attempt to explain this typical allusion; and the reader is perhaps aware, that the term *Wisdom* was applied by the fathers to the second and third persons of the Trinity, though more frequently to the second. As bishop Bull observes, "Veteres secundæ et tertiæ "personæ, ob communem utrique tum naturam, tum "ab eadem *πηγῇ Θεότητος* derivationem, etiam nomina "fecisse communia^b." It is plain, that in the present instance the term *Wisdom* is applied to the

^z This passage is overlooked by Suicer in his *Thesaurus*, v. *Τριάς*, who very properly observes, that the *Expositio rectæ confessionis*, in which the word occurs, and which has been ascribed to Justin Martyr, is later than that writer by some cen-

turies.

^a Ὡσαύτως καὶ αἱ τρεῖς ἡμέραι [πρὸ] τῶν φωστῆρων γεγονυῖαι τύποι εἰσιν τῆς Τριάδος, τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ.

^b Def. Fid. Nic. II. 4, 10. See also Grotius in Marc. ii. 8.

Holy Ghost, as bishop Bull has shewn it to have been by Irenæus, Origen, and others^c: and if this indiscriminate application of names should lead any persons to imagine, that the fathers confounded the personality of the Son and the Holy Ghost, we may adduce the present passage as a proof to the contrary, in which the word *Τριάς*, and the allusion to three distinct days, require us to interpret *the Word of God*, and *the Wisdom of God*, of two distinct persons.

It is hardly necessary to add, that in adducing this passage as the earliest instance of the use of the word *Τριάς*, I confine the remark to the ecclesiastical meaning of the term, and to its application to the three persons of the Godhead. It would appear from Aulus Gellius^d, who probably wrote a few years before Theophilus, that *τριάς* in Greek, as *ternio* in Latin, signified *the number three*: and if we speak of the cube, or square, or any other power of *three*, we should not say *τριῶν*, but *τῆς τριάδος*. The word is also frequently used by Philo Judæus in his work upon the creation^e, where he speculates upon the number of days in a manner very similar to that followed by Theophilus. The passage in A. Gellius might lead us to think, that Pythagoras had made use of the term *τριάς*: and his peculiar theory concerning numbers led him to pay particular regard to the number three. The word also occurs in one of those spurious oracles, which have been ascribed to Zoroaster and the Persian magi;

Παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριάς, ἥς μονὰς ἀρχή.
and from this and similar expressions it has been

^c Def. Fid. Nic. II. 5, 7. IV.
3, 11.

^d I. 20.

^e De Opificio, p. 10.

thought by some persons, that the Chaldees and Persians had a notion of a Trinity in unity^f. I cannot, however, persuade myself, that there is any real foundation for this opinion. It is true, that the later Platonists found out several allusions to a Trinity in the writings of Plato; and many of the fathers extracted a similar meaning from these passages. The former wished to prove, that the Christians had borrowed from Plato: and the latter incautiously thought to support the doctrines of the Gospel, by finding a resemblance to them in the writings of Plato. This is, I believe, a correct account of the system which prevailed in the early ages of Christianity, of interpreting Plato in a Christian sense: and the same spirit, which led to the distortion and misrepresentation of the Athenian philosopher, was most probably the cause of the forgery of many of those oracles, which were ascribed to the Sibyls and the Magi. It is demonstrable, that some of these oracles were in existence in the time of Justin Martyr: and his manner of quoting them proves not only their existence, but that they must have been written a certain time before, so as to have obtained a general circulation and belief in those days. The forgeries of this kind may perhaps be traced to Alexandria as their birth-place: and the same injudicious feeling, which I have supposed to have weighed with the Christian fathers, may have induced the Alexandrian Jews to appeal to certain ancient records of Greece and Persia as agreeing with Moses. The heathen philoso-

^f See Cudworth, *Systema Intellectuale*, and Mosheim's notes, IV. 17. p. 436. I may also refer

to my Bampton Lectures, note 90. p. 546.

phers made the same appeal, with a view to depreciate the antiquity and originality of the books of Moses: and thus the spurious works of Orpheus, Zoroaster, the Sibyls, &c. were received and quoted by both parties. Many of these oracles or fragments of ancient poetry bear undoubted marks of being written by Jews, or by persons acquainted with the Jewish scriptures: and these may be traced to Alexandria. Others again speak plainly and explicitly of Christ and the gospel: and these may be ascribed to the later Platonists, or their injudicious Christian opponents. The passage quoted above, in which the word *τριὰς* occurs, is taken from the writings of Damascius, who lived in the sixth century: and it may therefore have been a late forgery, when the controversy concerning the Trinity attracted the notice of the heathen philosophers.

We perhaps ought not to infer from the words of Theophilus, that the term *τριὰς* had come in his day to bear the signification of a trinity in unity. He may have used it merely to express *three things*; and the *three days*, which he compares with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, might have been spoken of by him as *τριὰς τῶν ἡμερῶν*, a *triad*, or *trinity of days*. In this sense Clement of Alexandria speaks of “the holy triad or trinity, faith, hope, and “charity⁸,” and Origen uses the terms *τριὰς* and *τετράς* for periods of three and four years respectively^h: Tertullian also at the end of the second century used the term *trinitas* in the same ordinary sense, for any three thingsⁱ: but the passage, which

⁸ Ἡ ἀγία τριάς, πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη. Strom. IV. 7. p. 588.

ⁱ Adv. Valentin. 17. p. 258.

^h In Joan. tom. VI. 14. p. De Anima, 16. p. 274.

I shall quote at length in N^o. 30, seems to shew, that in his day the term was applied in a particular manner to the three persons of the Godhead. I would not therefore argue from the mere occurrence of the word in the writings of Theophilus, that *τριάς* contained a signification of *unity*, as well as of *trinity*: but this much is at least evident, that Theophilus must have considered some resemblance, if not equality, to have existed between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, or he would not have included them in the same type: and who would venture in any sense to speak of a trinity of beings, if one of the three was God, and the other two were created?

The next writer, who uses the word in the ecclesiastical sense, is Clement of Alexandria, who flourished a few years later than Theophilus. Like many of the fathers, he supposed Plato to have had a Trinity in view, when he wrote that obscure passage in his second Letter to Dionysius, *Περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκείνου ἕνεκα τὰ πάντα· καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἷτιον ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν· δεύτερον δὲ περὶ τὰ δεύτερα· καὶ τρίτον περὶ τὰ τρίτα*. Upon which Clement observes, “I understand this in no other way, than as containing mention of the blessed Trinity: for *the third thing* is the Holy Ghost, and the Son is *the second*.” Hippolytus, in a fragment of one of his works, speaks of “the knowledge of the blessed Trinity¹:” and in another, after reciting the form of words used at baptism, he adds, “For by this Trinity the Father is glorified^m.” Origen also

^k Οὐκ ἄλλως ἔγωγε ἐξακούω, ἢ τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα μνηύεσθαι· τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα· τὸν Υἱὸν δὲ δεύτερον. Strom. V. p. 710. This passage also is omitted by

Suicer.

¹ Τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος. vol. I. p. 282.

^m See N^o. 43.

frequently made use of the term. Several places are marked in the noteⁿ where the word *Trinitas* occurs in the Latin translation of Origen's treatise de Principiis: but I forbear to dwell upon these instances for the reasons given in N^o. 44. The word *Trinitas* also occurs in the following places in Origen's Homilies upon Genesis, which only exist in the Latin translation of Rufinus, and upon the accuracy of which we cannot depend. Hom. II. 5. p. 64. IV. 6. p. 73. Also upon Exodus, Hom. IX. 3. p. 163: and though the word may in some cases have been added by Rufinus, we may be more inclined to think its insertion genuine, because in some fragments of Origen's commentary upon the Book of Numbers, where the original Greek has been preserved, we find the term *τριάς*. In a highly mystical interpretation of Numb. xxiv. 6, *as gardens by the river side*, he says, "they are intellectual gardens, a place in which the trees of reason are planted, watered either by the contemplation of nature, or by the contemplation of the blessed Trinity^o." The Homilies upon Numbers, like those upon the preceding books, were translated by Rufinus; but he does not profess to have rendered them accurately. The word *Trinitas* occurs in Hom. I. §. 3. p. 277. X. §. 3. p. 303. XI. §. 8. p. 310. XII. §. 1. p. 312. In translating the Homilies upon the Book of Joshua, Rufinus professes to have simply followed the original: and we may

ⁿ *De Princip.* I. 3, 2. p. 61. 189. §. 28. p. 190. §. 32. p. 192.
and again §. 4, 5. p. 62. The ^o Παράδεισοι ἐπὶ πτόταμόν εἰσι
word will also be found in §. 7. νοητοὶ, τόπος ἐν ᾧ λογικὰ πεφύτευται
p. 63. c. 5, 3. p. 66. c. 6, 1. p. 69. ἀρδόμενα ἔχουσι τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῶν γεγονό-
ib. §. 2. lib. II. c. 2. §. 2. p. 79. των, ἣ τῇ θεωρίᾳ τῆς ἀγίας Τριάδος.
c. 4. 3. p. 86. lib. IV. §. 27. p. In Num. p. 273.

therefore conclude, that the author of them made use of the word Trinity, as in the following passage, where he is giving a figurative and fanciful meaning to what we read of nine tribes and an half being on one side of the Jordan, and two and an half on the other ; so that neither was the number ten complete on the one side, nor the number three on the other : “ In which I conceive this to be indicated, that those former people, who were under the law, possessed a knowledge of the Trinity ; not however entirely and perfectly, but in part. For there was wanting to them in the Trinity a knowledge of the incarnation of the only begotten God ^p.—Those tribes therefore were not two, lest the fathers should be without the faith and salvation of the Trinity ; nor were they three entire and perfect, lest the mystery of the blessed Trinity should seem already complete in them ^q.” After quoting John xvi. 14. he continues, “ You see that not only in the time of Moses is that number three shewn to be incomplete, but Jesus also says to his disciples, Ye cannot yet hear, unless the Comforter be come, the Spirit of Truth : because through him and in him is completed the perfection of the Trinity ^r.”

One of the most remarkable passages in support

^p In quo arbitror illud indicari, quod et illi priores, qui per legem agebantur, contigerint quidem scientiam Trinitatis, non tamen integre et perfecte, sed ex parte. Deerat enim illis in Trinitate, etiam Dei unigeniti incarnationem cognoscere. Hom. III. §. 2. p. 402.

^q Propterea ergo tribus illæ

neque duæ sunt, ne patres extra fidem et salutem sint Trinitatis : neque tres integræ et perfectæ, ne beatæ Trinitatis in illis jam sacramentum videretur expletum. Ib.

^r — quia per ipsum et in ipso adimpletur perfectio Trinitatis. p. 403.

of the Trinity is in Origen's first Homily upon the Book of Kings: and though this Homily only exists in a Latin translation, the author of which is unknown, yet we cannot doubt, that the sentiment at least proceeded from the original writer. "What," he says, "are those things, in which it is my duty " to speak in a lofty strain? When I speak of the " omnipotence of God, of his invisibility and eternity, I speak in a lofty strain. When I speak of " the coeternity of his only Begotten, and his other " mysteries, I speak in a lofty strain. When I discuss the greatness of the Holy Ghost, I speak in " a lofty strain. In these things only is it allowed " us to speak in a lofty strain. After these three " things you should use no more lofty language. " For all things are low and mean, with reference " to the loftiness of this Trinity. Be unwilling, " therefore, to speak loftily upon many subjects, except concerning the Father, and the Son, and the " Holy Ghost^s."

We have also the Greek word *τρίας* in Origen's commentary upon Psalm xvii. 16, *The foundations of the world were discovered at thy rebuke*; upon which he observes, "It is good also that the foundations of the world were discovered, that the blessed " Trinity might be seen, which has the command of

^s Quæ autem sunt, in quibus excelsa me loqui necesse est? Quando de omnipotentia Dei loquor, de invisibilitate et sempiternitate ejus, excelsa loquor. Quando de unigeniti ejus coeternitate cæterisque ejus mysteriis pronuncio, excelsa loquor. Quando de Sancti Spiritus magnificentia dissero, excelsa loquor.

In his tantum nobis conceditur loqui excelsa. Post hæc tria jam nihil loquaris excelsum. Omnia enim humilia sunt et dejecta, quantum ad Trinitatis hujus celsitudinem spectat. Nolite ergo multiplicare loqui excelsa, nisi de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto. §. 13. p. 488.

"creation^t." Again, upon Psalm xxiii. 1, *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein*, Origen says, "Not only the earth, and the fulness thereof, but also the world. The sinner dwells in the wilderness; but he that is in the church, which is filled by the blessed Trinity, dwells in the world, which is the church &c.^u"

Origen's commentary upon the 36th, 37th, and 38th Psalms was translated by Rufinus, who tells us, that he merely expressed what he found in the original. I therefore quote the following remarkable passage from this Latin version. After referring to Exodus iii. 3, he says, "It is therefore *a great sight*, when God is seen with a pure heart. It is *a great sight*, when the Word of God, and the Wisdom of God, which is his Christ, is recognised with a pure heart. It is *a great sight* to recognise and believe in the Holy Ghost. This *great sight* therefore is the knowledge of the Trinity^x."

Again we have the Greek word *τριας* in the commentary upon Psalm xxxvii. 22, *Forsake me not, O Lord my God, be not far from me*. Origen writes, "This is a good beginning to prayer, *For-sake me not, O Lord my God, be not far from me; make haste to help me, O Lord my salva-*

^t Ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀποκαλυφθῆ-
ναι τὰ θεμέλια τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἵνα
θεωρηθῇ ἡ ἁγία Τριάς, ἣτις ἄρχεται
τῶν κτισμάτων. vol. II. p. 607.

^u Ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τυγχάνων
τῇ πεπληρωμένῃ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος,
αὗτος κατοικεῖ τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἣτις
ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία. p. 626.

^x *Magna ergo est visio, cum*

puro corde Deus videtur. *Magna*
est visio, cum puro corde Ver-
bum Dei, et Sapientia Dei, qui
est Christus ejus, agnoscitur.
Magna visio est agnoscere et
credere in Spiritum Sanctum.
Magna ergo hæc visio scientia
Trinitatis est. p. 670.

“*tion*; for he has in himself also the blessed Trinity^y.” Again, upon Psalm xxxviii. 5, *Lord, make me to know mine end*, he observes, “The end of reasonable nature is the knowledge of the blessed Trinity^z.” Again, upon Psalm lxi. 4, *I will abide in thy tabernacle for ever*, he writes, “Every one that is perfect abideth in holiness for ever in that tabernacle: which is shewn in the following passage, *Who shall tabernacle in thy holy hill?* (Ps. xv. 1.) For this *abiding for ever* is the same with *the tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man*. (Heb. viii. 2.) But if such a tabernacle as this has such great perfection, as to be the holy of holies, yet there is after this a condition exceeding the powers of reason, according to which they will be in the Father and the Son, or rather in the Trinity^a.” Again, upon Psalm cxxxvi. 2, *Give thanks unto the God of gods*, after shewing the meaning of *gods*, he continues, “The apostle also says, *though there be gods many and lords many in heaven and on earth*, (1 Cor. viii. 5.) yet that those who are called Gods, after the Trinity, are such by a participation of divinity: but the Saviour is God, not by participation, but in essence^b.” Again, upon Psalm cxlv. 3, *Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised, and of his greatness there is no end*, he writes, “The contemplation of all created things is bounded: but only

^y — ἔχει γὰρ ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα. p. 680.

^z Πέρας ἐστὶ τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως ἡ γνῶσις τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος. p. 689.

^a Πλὴν εἰ καὶ οὕτω τελειότητος ἔχει ἡ τοιαύτη σκηνή, ὥς καὶ ἅγια ἁγίων εἶναι, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐστὶ μετ’ αὐτὴν κατὰστασις ὑπερέχουσα τῶν ἁ-

γικῶν, καθ’ ἣν ἔσονται ἐν Πατρὶ καὶ Τίῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῇ Τριάδι. p. 739.

^b — ἀλλὰ τοὺς λεγομένους μετὰ τὴν Τριάδα Θεοὺς μετουσίᾳ θεότητος εἶναι τοιοῦτους· ὁ δὲ σωτὴρ οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατ’ οὐσίαν ἐστὶ Θεός. p. 833.

“ the knowledge of the blessed Trinity is without “ end^c.” Again, upon Psalm cxlvii. 13, *He hath strengthened the bars of thy gates*, “ The bars of “ Jerusalem are the practical virtues, which hinder “ the enemy from entering: but the bars of Sion “ are the heavenly doctrines, and the right faith in “ the adorable and blessed Trinity^d.” These two words, προσκυνητῆς τριάδος, contain in fact the whole doctrine of the Trinity: for they shew, that Origen united all the three persons as objects of the same adoration.

There are some very remarkable attestations to the doctrine of the Trinity, and repeated use of the term *Trinitas*, in the Latin version of Origen’s commentary upon the Song of Solomon: but since Rufinus seems to have made a loose and paraphrastic translation, I shall only give references to some of the passages. They will be found in Prolog. p. 29, 30. lib. II. in Cant. i. 11, 12. p. 62. lib. III. in Cant. ii. 9. p. 83, 84.

The same may be said of Origen’s Homilies upon Isaiah, which were translated by Jerom: in which, according to Rufinus, he took great liberties with the original, and removed objections from passages concerning the Trinity. This is expressly said of the first of the following passages, in all of which the word *Trinitas* will be found. Hom. I. 2. p. 107. Ib. 4. p. 107. Hom. IV. 1. p. 112: but the same testimony, which charges Jerom with interpolating the first passage, proves that Origen interpreted the

^c Πάντων μὲν τῶν γεγονότων ἡ θεωρία πεπέρασται· μόνῃ δὲ ἡ γνώσις τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος ἐστὶν ἀπέραντος. p. 843.

^d Τῆς δὲ Σιών, τὰ οὐράνια δόγματα, καὶ ἡ ὀρθὴ πίστις τῆς προσκυνητῆς καὶ ἁγίας Τριάδος. p. 845.

two seraphim, mentioned in Isaiah vi. 2, of the Son and Holy Ghost.

In his commentary upon St. John, we find Origen speaking of a person committing himself at baptism “to the divine influence of the names of the adorable Trinity, which are then invoked^e.”

The word *Trinitas* is also found in the following passages of Origen’s commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans. Lib. III. §. 8. p. 514. lib. VII. §. 13. p. 611, 612. lib. VIII. §. ult. p. 642.

Methodius in his Symposium made use of the word *τριάς* and though we may condemn him for seeing an allusion to the Trinity in the sacrifice offered by Abraham, Gen. xv. 9, it is plain from the passage, that the word was in general use in his day^f. But there is another passage in the same work, which shews still more clearly, that not only the name, but the doctrine of the Trinity, was well understood in those days. Having compared the stars, which are mentioned in Rev. xii. 4. to the heretics, he adds in the same allegorical strain which was then too common, “Hence they are called *a third part of the stars*, as being in error concerning one of the numbers of the Trinity; at one time concerning that of the Father, as Sabellius, who said that the Omnipotent himself suffered; at another time concerning that of the Son, as Artemas, and they who say that he existed in appearance only; and at another time concerning

^e — τῶ ἐμπαρέχοντι ἑαυτὸν τῇ
θειότητι τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν τῆς προσ-
κυνητῆς Τριάδος ἐπικλήσεων. Tom.
VI. 17. p. 133.

^f Ὁ συμβολικῶς δάμαλιν ἔφη καὶ
αἶγα καὶ κριὸν τριετίζοντα, οἷον ἐ-
τὴν γνώσιν ἀκακέμφατον τῆς Τριάδος
ἐπανηρημένα. Orat. V. p. 92.

“ that of the Spirit, as the Ebionites, who contend
“ that the prophets spoke of their own impulse^g.”

I have brought all these passages together, as shewing the use of the term *τριας* among Greek writers, who lived in the three first centuries. Suicer has noticed very few of them.

10. *Theophili ad Autolycum*, 18. p. 362.

Theophilus, after making some remarks upon the creation of man, as recorded by Moses, says, “ We
“ also find God speaking, as if he wished for assist-
“ ance, *Let us make man after our image and like-
“ ness*. But He did not say, *Let us make*, to any
“ other than to His own Word and His own Wis-
“ dom^h.” Here again we find the term *Wisdom*
applied to the Holy Ghost; though it might per-
haps be thought, that Theophilus meant merely to
speak of the Son, and to apply to him the two
epithets of *the Word* and *Wisdom*. This however
is rendered improbable by the preceding passage:
and we find Irenæus expressing precisely the same
sentiment: “ The angels did not make us, nor form
“ us; nor could angels make *the image of God*;
“ nor any one else, except the Word of the Lord,
“ nor any power which was far removed from the
“ Father of the universe. For God had no need of
“ those to make what he had predetermined with

^g Ὅθεν καὶ τρίτον τῶν ἀστέρων
ἐκλήθησαν μέρος, οἷον περὶ ἓνα τῶν
ἀριθμῶν τῆς Τριάδος διεσφαλμένοι,
ὅτε μὲν τὸν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὡς Σαβέλ-
λιος, αὐτὸν τὸν Παντοκράτορα λέξας
πεπονθέναι· ὅτε δὲ τὸν τοῦ Υἱοῦ, ὡς
Ἀρτεμῆος καὶ οἱ δοκῆσαι αὐτὸν ἀπο-
φηνάμενοι πεφυκέναι· ὅτε δὲ περὶ τὸν
τοῦ Πνεύματος, ὡς Ἐβιοναῖοι, ἐξ

ἰδίας κινήσεως τοὺς προφήτας λελα-
ληκέναι φιλονεικούντες. Orat. VIII.
p. 113.

^h Ἐτι μὴν καὶ ὡς βοηθείας χρή-
ζων ὁ Θεὸς εὐρίσκεται λέγων, Ποιή-
σωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ καθ'
ὁμολώσωσιν. Οὐκ ἄλλῃ δὲ τινι εἴρηκε,
Ποιήσωμεν, ἀλλ' ἢ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λόγῳ
καὶ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ σοφίᾳ.

“ himself to make, as if he had not his own hands.
 “ For there is always present with him his Word
 “ and Wisdom, the Son and Holy Ghost, by whom
 “ and in whom he made all things freely and volun-
 “ tarily; to whom also he speaks, when he says,
 “ *Let us make man after our image and likeness*ⁱ.”
 Irenæus expresses the same notion in another place;
 “ This is the Father, this is God, this is the Crea-
 “ tor, who made those things by himself, that is, by
 “ His Word and Wisdom^k.” These passages are
 sufficient to shew, that it is not merely a modern
 interpretation, which finds an argument for the Tri-
 nity in the words spoken by God in Gen. i. 26; and
 Irenæus not only supposed the Son and the Holy
 Ghost to be present with God in the work of crea-
 tion; but he considered it to be indifferent, whether
 he spoke of God creating the world *by himself*, or
 by his Son and the Holy Ghost.

IRENÆUS, A. D. 185.

11. *Irenæi* lib. IV. c. 4. §. 2. p. 231.

Any passage, which speaks of the Father being
 in the Son, and the Son in the Father, may be
 quoted as an instance of belief in the doctrine of the
 Trinity. One of these, from the writings of Irenæus,
 has been given in my other work, N°. 49: “ It is
 “ by the Son who is in the Father, and has the Fa-
 “ ther in himself, that he, who is truly God, has

ⁱ Adest enim ei semper Verbum et Sapientia, Filius et Spiritus, per quos et in quibus omnia libere et sponte fecit; ad quos et loquitur, dicens, *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*. IV. 20. 1. p. 253.

^k Hic Pater, hic Deus, hic Conditor, hic Factor, hic Fabricator, qui fecit ea per semetipsum, hoc est, per Verbum et per Sapientiam suam. II. 30, 9. p. 163. See also IV. 7, 4. p. 236. IV. 20, 4. p. 254. V. 6, 1. p. 299. V. 28, 4. p. 327.

“ been manifested unto us.” The following passage is still more remarkable, in which Irenæus appears to quote from some other writer: “ He also spoke well, who said that the Father himself, who cannot be measured, is measured in the Son; for the Son is the measure of the Father, since he also contains Him¹.” The passage, when thus literally translated, is somewhat obscure and mystical: but to conceive of any being, that he is the measure of God, and that he contains or comprehends Him, who is immeasurable and incomprehensible, can only be reconciled with a belief in the divinity of that being. Irenæus expresses his own ideas upon this subject, when he says elsewhere, “ With relation to His greatness and marvellous glory *no man shall see God and live*: for the Father is incomprehensible^m.” He here says that the Father is incomprehensible, *incapabilis*, and in the former passage he calls Him immeasurable, *immensus*; and yet he says that the Son comprehends, *capit*, Him. Bishop Bull has some valuable remarks upon this passageⁿ: and he refers to the words of Irenæus in another place, where he is speaking of the Gnostic notion that “ Bythus and Sige produced Nus, which was similar and equal to him who produced it, and which alone comprehends the greatness of its Father^o.” The notion, like most of those connected with Gnos-

¹ Et bene, qui dixit ipsum immensum Patrem in Filio mensuratum: mensura enim Patris Filius, quoniam et capit eum.

^m Sed secundum magnitudinem quidem ejus et mirabilem gloriam *nemo videbit Deum et vivet*; incapabilis enim Pater. IV. 20, 5. p. 254. In the same

section, where a fragment of the Greek is preserved, we find the terms ἀχώρητος καὶ ἀκατάληπτος.

ⁿ Def. Fid. Nic. II. 5. 4.

^o ——— Νοῦν, ὁμοίον τε καὶ ἴσον τῷ προβαλόντι, καὶ μόνον χωροῦντα τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Πατρὸς. I. 1. 1. p. 5.

ticism, is involved in fable and absurdity : but it shews, that if a being is supposed to comprehend the greatness of God, it must also be supposed to be similar and equal to God.

12. *Irenæi* l. IV. c. 14. §. 1. p. 243.

I give the present passage, not merely as asserting the existence of Christ before all creation, (for the Arians did not deny this position,) but on account of the expression of the Son abiding *in the Father*, which, as I observed in N°. 11. is a direct support of the doctrine of the Trinity. “ For not “ only before Adam, but before all creation, the “ Word glorified his Father, abiding in Him^p. ” The reader will remember, that the expressions of *the Father being in the Son*, and *the Son in the Father*, are used on more than one occasion by our Saviour ; John x. 38 ; xiv. 10, 11 ; xvii. 21—23. The Socinian and Unitarian interpreters explain these to mean, that there is an unity of counsel and operation between the Father and the Son ; and that the Son is in the Father, because he did not speak or work miracles of himself, but from the Father. The reader will judge, whether this was the sense in which such expressions were used by Irenæus.

13. *Irenæi* l. IV. c. 20. §. 3. p. 253.

The present passage might have been added in N°. 10. to those which were brought to prove, that Irenæus applied the term *Wisdom* to the Holy Ghost : but I quote it separately, as bearing a remarkable testimony to the divinity of the third person of the Trinity : “ That the Word, that is, the

^p Non enim solum ante Ad- ditionem glorificabat Verbum
dam, sed et ante omnem con- Patrem suum, manens in eo.

" Son, was always with the Father, I have proved at
 " much length : but that Wisdom also, which is the
 " Spirit, was with him before all creation, he says
 " in the words of Solomon ^q." Irenæus then quotes
 Prov. iii. 19, 20 ; viii. 22—27. which passages (as
 I have observed in my other work, N^o. 28.) were
 constantly referred by the fathers to the second and
 third persons of the Trinity.

14. *Irenæi* l. IV. c. 20. §. 6. p. 254.

Some allusion to the doctrine of the Trinity will
 perhaps be found in the following passage, where
 the three persons are united in a manner which
 would hardly have presented itself, if the second
 and third persons were merely created beings. " This
 " then was the mode in which God was manifested;
 " for God the Father is revealed through all these
 " means, the Spirit operating, the Son ministering,
 " and the Father approving, by all which together
 " man's salvation is completed ^r." A similar idea
 may also be traced in the following passage, where
 the original Greek is preserved : " Man, who was
 " created and formed, was made after the image and
 " likeness of the uncreated God ; the Father approv-
 " ing and commanding ; the Son executing and cre-
 " ating ; and the Holy Ghost supplying nourish-
 " ment and increase ^s."

^q Et quoniam Verbum, id est, Filius, semper cum Patre erat, per multademonstravimus. Quoniam autem et Sapientia, quæ est Spiritus, erat apud eum ante omnem constitutionem, per Salomonem ait. A difference will be observed between the phrases *cum Patre* and *apud eum*, which were probably in the Greek *μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς* and *πρὸς αὐτόν*. I have

translated *constitutionem* as *κτί-σιν*.

^r Sic igitur manifestabatur Deus ; per omnia enim hæc Deus Pater ostenditur, Spiritu quidem operante, Filio vero ministrante, Patre vero comprobante, homine vero consummato ad salutem.

^s Ὁ γεννητὸς καὶ πεπλασμένος ἄνθρωπος κατ' εἰκόνα καὶ ὁμοίωσιν

15. *Irenæi* l. IV. c. 20. §. 12. p. 257.

The following passage could only have been written in an age, when allegorical interpretation was eagerly followed: but I would add, that it could only have proceeded from a writer, who believed in the doctrine of the Trinity: "So also Rahab the harlot—entertained the three spies, who spied the whole country, and hid them in her house, i. e. the Father and the Son with the Holy Ghost¹." It is not my intention to defend Irenæus for this fanciful allegory. The fault was in the system, not in the individual writer; and whoever will consult Origen upon this passage, will find him not only interpreting the three spies to mean three angels, but indulging in many trifling speculations upon the name of Rahab and the whole of her history². Irenæus, as will be seen, merely mentions the allusion, and does not dwell upon it: but I repeat, that the notion would never have entered into his mind, if he had not seen some kind of resemblance or equality between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

16. *Irenæi* l. V. c. 18. §. 2. p. 315.

"And thus there is shewn to be one God the Father, *who is above all, and through all, and in all things*. The Father is *above all things*, and he is the head of Christ: the Word is *through all things*, and he is the head of the church: the Spirit is *in all of us*, and he is the living water,

τοῦ ἀγενήτου γίνεται Θεοῦ· τοῦ μὲν Πατρὸς εὐδοκούντος καὶ κελεύοντος, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ πράσσοντος καὶ δημιουργούντος, τοῦ δὲ Πνεύματος τρέφοντος καὶ αὔξοντος. IV. 38, 3. p. 285.

¹ Sic autem et Raab fornicaria
— suscepit tres speculatores,

qui speculabantur universam terram, et apud se abscondit; Patrem scilicet et Filium cum Spiritu Sancto.

² In Lib. Jesu Nave, Hom. III. 3. vol. II. p. 403.

“ which the Lord supplies to those who believe
 “ rightly in him, and love him, and know that *there*
 “ *is one Father, who is above all, and through all,*
 “ *and in us all*.” I have quoted this passage, not
 only as illustrating the belief of Irenæus himself,
 but as containing an interpretation of the words of
 St. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians, iv. 6. That
 this text might be considered to contain an allusion
 to the Trinity, had been my own notion upon the
 first perusal of this Epistle: and I subsequently
 found the idea confirmed by the passage now pro-
 duced from Irenæus. There can be no question,
 that Irenæus conceived St. Paul’s words to admit an
 application to the Son and the Holy Ghost, as well
 as to the Father. He probably had the same text
 in view, and applied it in the same way, when he
 said in another place, “ The Son has been present
 “ with his creatures from the beginning, and reveals
 “ the Father to all, to as many as the Father wishes,
 “ and when he wishes, and how he wishes: and
 “ therefore *in all and through all things* there is
 “ one God the Father, and one Word the Son, and
 “ one Spirit, and one salvation to all who believe in
 “ him.” Nor was Irenæus the only one of the
 fathers, who gave this meaning to the words of St.

* Et sic unus Deus Pater ostenditur, qui est super omnia, et per omnia, et in omnibus. Super omnia quidem Pater, et ipse est caput Christi: per omnia autem Verbum, et ipse est caput Ecclesiæ: in omnibus autem nobis Spiritus, et ipse est aqua viva, quam præstat Dominus in se recte credentibus, et diligentibus se, et scientibus quia unus Pater, qui est super

omnia, et per omnia, et in omnibus nobis.

† Ab initio enim assistens Filius suo plasmati revelat omnibus Patrem, quibus vult, et quando vult, et quemadmodum vult Pater: et propter hoc in omnibus et per omnia unus Deus Pater, et unum Verbum Filius, et unus Spiritus, et una salus omnibus credentibus in eum. IV. 6, 7. p. 235.

Paul. Hippolytus, in a passage which I shall quote more at length in N^o. 43. and which contains an express assertion of the doctrine of the Trinity, says, "The Father is over all, the Son through all, and the Holy Ghost in all^z." Origen's commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans contains a similar allusion: but I only refer to the passage^a, because the Latin version of Rufinus cannot be depended on for its accuracy. Athanasius quotes the passage as indicative of the Trinity in several places, but particularly in the two following: "There is one God the Father, having his existence "in himself, inasmuch as he is *over all*; and revealed in the Son, inasmuch as he extends *through all*; and in the Holy Ghost, inasmuch as he operates *in all* by the word which is in him^b." And again; "And thus *one God* is preached in the church, *who is over all, and through all, and in all: over all*, as the Father, as the principal and fountain; *through all*, by the Word; and *in all*, in the Holy Ghost^c."

The object of the present work does not lead me to consider whether the fathers were right in supposing St. Paul to allude to the three persons of the Trinity in Eph. iv. 6.^d But if any person should

^z Ὁ ὢν Πατὴρ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ δὲ Τίς διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐν πᾶσιν. Cont. Noetum 14. vol. II. p. 16.

^a Lib. VII. §. 13. p. 612.

^b Εἰς Θεὸς ὁ Πατὴρ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ὢν κατὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πάντων εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῷ Τίῳ δὲ φαινόμενος κατὰ τὸ διὰ πάντων διήκειν, καὶ ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐν ἅπασιν διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνεργεῖν. Orat. III. 15. p. 565.

^c Καὶ οὕτως εἰς Θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύττεται, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων, καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπὶ πάντων μὲν, ὡς Πατὴρ, ὡς ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ διὰ πάντων δὲ, διὰ τοῦ Λόγου ἐν πᾶσι δὲ, ἐν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ. Epist. I. ad Serap. 28. p. 676, 677. See also §. 14. p. 663.

^d Upon this subject see Waterland, vol. I. p. 6; vol. III. p. 60.

oppose this interpretation, he must oppose it upon the principle, that in all the three expressions, *above all, through all, and in all*, St. Paul had only in view God the Father: and he must then allow, even upon his own hypothesis, that the fathers applied expressions to the Son and to the Holy Ghost, which can only be applied properly to God the Father.

CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, A. D. 194.

17. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 6. p. 123.

The following passage is quoted by bishop Bull, as “ a full and perfect confession of the most holy “ Trinity^e :” and it is the more remarkable, because there is nothing preceding, which led Clement thus to apostrophize the three persons, or to mention the third person at all. He had been alluding to our Saviour’s words in Luke xi. 28, *Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it* : and the occasion, which called forth these words, leading him to speak of Christ being born of a virgin, he breaks out into the following exclamation: “ O mysterious wonder ! The universal Father is “ one ; the universal Word also is one ; and the “ Holy Spirit is one, and this same Spirit is every “ where^f.” Beside the testimony here borne to the doctrine of a Trinity, the reader will observe, that ubiquity is ascribed to the Holy Spirit.

18. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 7. p. 129.

In accordance with the remark made at the beginning of N^o. 11. the following passage is indicative of the doctrine of the Trinity : “ Since I have

^e Def. Fid. Nic. II. 6. 3.

^f *Ω θαύματος μυστικοῦ· εἰς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὅλων Πατὴρ· εἰς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν

ὅλων Λόγος· καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἓν, καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ.

“ proved that we are all called *children* by the “ scriptures, and not only this, but that we who believe in Christ are figuratively termed *babes*, and “ that the Father of the universe is alone perfect : “ (for the Son is in Him, and the Father in the “ Son :) it is time for me, according to the order “ which I am following, to explain the nature of “ our Instructor^g.” The words included in the parenthesis seem to have been called for by some such train of thought as this. Having said that God the Father alone is perfect, Clement was aware that he might seem to exclude the Son from being perfect : and he meets such a remark by saying, that the perfection of the Son is implied and included in the perfection of the Father : for the Son is in the Father, and the Father in the Son. That this train of thought has not been attributed fancifully to Clement, is evident from his own words in another part of this treatise; where, after quoting the magnificent prophecy of Isaiah, ix. 6. he exclaims, “ O the mighty “ God ! O the *perfect* Child ! the Son in the Father, “ and the Father in the Son^h !” Here Clement not only says, as in the first quoted passage, that the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father ; but he says expressly, not by implication and inference, that the Son, the mighty God, is *perfect* : and since he says in the other place, that the Father alone is perfect, the two statements can only be reconciled by the addition, which is made by himself, that the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father ; which is in fact the doctrine of the Trinity.

^g — μόνον δὲ εἶναι τέλειον τὸν τελείου παιδίου· Τῆς ἐν Πατρὶ, καὶ Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν Τίῳ. The passage is Τῆς, καὶ ἐν τῷ Τίῳ ὁ πατήρ. quoted in my other work, No.

^h * Ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ· ὁ τοῦ 75.

The same notion is also expressed in the following passage, where, after enumerating the different epithets and attributes of God, he concludes, "So that it is evident that the God of the universe is one, and one only, good, just, the Creator, the Son in the Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amenⁱ."

19. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. I. c. 8. p. 135.

The following passage was quoted incidentally in my former work, N^o. 80. "Nothing therefore is hated by God, nor yet by the Word, for both are one, God: for he says, *In the beginning the Word was in God, and the Word was God*^k." This same idea of *both being one* is found still more strongly expressed at the end of this treatise, where Clement addresses a prayer to the Logos, and begins it with these words, which it is difficult to translate: "Be merciful, Instructor, to thy children, O Father, the Director of Israel, Son and Father, both one, Lord^l."

20. *Clementis Pædagog.* l. III. c. ult. p. 311.

The next passage is obscure, and difficult to be translated: but, as bishop Bull justly observes, "in meridiana luce cæcutit, qui non clare videt, in hac δοξολογία, plenam et perfectam consubstantialis Trinitatis, hoc est, unius Dei in tribus personis, Patre nempe, Filio et Spiritu S. subsistentis, confessionem contineri^m." It is a continuation of the

ⁱ Ὡς εἶναι ταῖς ἀληθείαις καταφανές τὸ [τὸν] τῶν συμπάντων Θεὸν ἓνα μόνον εἶναι, ἀγαθὸν, δίκαιον, δημιουργόν, Τὸν ἐν Πατρὶ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. I. 8. p. 142.

^k Οὐδὲν ἄρα μισεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λόγου· ἐν γὰρ ἅμ-

φω, ὁ Θεός. See Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* II. 6. 4.

^l Ἰλαθὶ τοῖς σοῖς, Παιδαγωγέ, παιδίους, Πατὴρ, ἡγόχε Ἰσραὴλ, Τίε καὶ Πατὴρ, ἐν ἅμφω, Κύριε. III. ult. p. 311.

^m *Def. Fid. Nic.* II. 6. 4.

prayer, of which I have quoted the beginning in N^o. 19; and Clement asks leave to “offer praise “and thanksgiving to the only One, to the Father “and Son, Son and Father, to the Son, who is Instructor and Teacher, together with the Holy Ghost, in all things one, in whom are all things, “through whom all things are one, through whom is “eternityⁿ.” There may be parts of this sentence which are difficult to comprehend; but it is unquestionable, that the Son and Holy Ghost are united with the Father as objects of praise, and the Greek words can hardly admit any other construction than that which declares the three persons to be One.

21. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* lib. VII. c. 13. p. 881.

If Clement had not believed the Son to be equal with the Father, and in some sense identified with him, he could never have written the following sentence without blasphemy. “Does not our Saviour, “who wishes the Christian *to be perfect as the “Father who is in heaven*, that is, himself; who “says, *Come ye children, hear from me the fear of “the Lord*, (Psalm xxxiv. 11.) does he not wish “him to be worthy of receiving assistance from “himself^o?” It would be sufficiently remarkable, that Clement makes Christ the speaker of those words in Psalm xxxiv. 11. but it is much more so,

ⁿ Αἰνοῦντας εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ μόνῳ Πατρὶ καὶ Τίῳ, Τίῳ καὶ Πατρὶ, παι-
δαγωγῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ Τίῳ, σὺν καὶ
τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, πάντα τῷ ἐνὶ,
ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, δι’ ὃν τὰ πάντα ἐν, δι’
ὃν τὸ ἀεί. I should wish to read
the last words thus, δι’ ὃν τὰ πάν-
τα, ἐν [ᾧ καὶ] δι’ ὃν τὸ ἀεί.

^o Καὶ μή τι τὸν γνωστικὸν τέλειον

εἶναι βουλόμενος ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ὡς τὸν
οὐράνιον Πατέρα, τοῦτέστιν ἑαυτὸν,
ὁ λέγων, Δεῦτε τέκνα, ἀκούσατέ μου
φόβον Κυρίου, κ. τ. λ.; The reader
of Clement will readily under-
stand why I have translated τὸν
γνωστικὸν *the Christian*. I may
refer to my Bampton Lectures,
note 35.

that in alluding to the passage, *Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect*, (Matt. v. 48.) he says that Christ proposed "the Father, "i. e. himself," as this model of perfection.

22. *Clem. Alex. Quis Dives Salvetur?* §. 33. p. 954.

Having given exhortations to charity, he tells the Christian not to regard the outward appearance, however mean or squalid it may be: "this figure is "laid upon us from without, the covering of our "entrance into the world, that we may be able to "enter into this place of common discipline: but "the unseen Father dwelleth within, and his Son, "who died for us, and rose again with us^p." What follows is still stronger, and more expressive of the Trinity. "This figure, which meets the eye, deceives death and the devil. For the internal riches "and beauty cannot be discerned by them:—they "do not know what sort of *treasure we bear in "earthen vessels*, (2 Cor. iv. 7.) which is fenced "round with the power of God the Father, and the "blood of God the Son, and the dew of the Holy "Ghost^q." I have alluded to the remarkable expression of "the blood of God the Son" in my other work, N^o. 11. but the passage strongly confirms the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as of Christ's divinity. The term *dew* may be merely metaphorical, as in our liturgy, *pour upon them the continual dew of thy blessing*: or it may allude to the Holy Ghost accompanying the *water* of baptism.

^p Ἄλλ' ἔνδον ὁ κρυπτὸς ἐνοικεῖ Πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ τοῦτου παῖς ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανὼν, καὶ μετ' ἡμῶν ἀναστὰς.

^q Οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι πηλίκον τινὰ θησαυρὸν ἐν ὀστροκίνῃ σκεύει βαστά-

ζομεν, δυνάμει Θεοῦ Πατρός καὶ αἵματι Θεοῦ παιδὸς καὶ δρόσῳ Πνεύματος ἁγίου περιτετειχισμένοι. Dr. Hickes would read περιτετειχισμένοι.

23. *Clementis Fragmentum*, p. 1019.

Archbishop Potter extracted this fragment from a MS. in the Bodleian Library^r, which contains a work of Macarius Chrysocephalus^s upon the gospel of St. Matthew. The fragment begins thus: Οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην οὖν ὁμοίωσιν ὁ παράκλητος ἐνταῦθα λαμβάνει, ἀλλὰ περιστερᾶς. The same fragment was also published by Fabricius, in his edition of Hippolytus, (vol. II. p. 71. Append.) with this variation, that instead of ὁ παράκλητος, he reads ὁ Θεός. Fabricius quotes the same MS. which was copied by Potter, and also another in the same library^t. The latter MS. contains another work of Macarius upon the gospel of St. Luke, in which a small part of the same passage is quoted from Clement of Alexandria: but it is there given as follows: Οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην ὁμοίωσιν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Θεοῦ παρεληφότης, ἀλλὰ τὸ περιστερᾶς εἶδος. This variation is stated correctly by Potter, as I have observed by an inspection of the MSS., and Fabricius, perhaps, had not an accurate collation. There can be no doubt that the second reading is the correct one. It is confirmed by a Greek catena upon St. Luke, in a MS. at Vienna^u; and by one published in Latin by Corderius^x, in which we read, “Non hic hominis, “sed columbæ similitudinem Deus assumpsit:” so that we have here the remarkable expression “of “God having assumed, not the likeness of man, but “the form of a dove.”

^r Baroc. 156. in Mat. l. VIII. fol. 98. p. 2.

^s He was archbishop of Philadelphia, but Cave is unable to fix his date. Fabricius is inclined to place him in the four-

teenth century. Bibl. Gr. vol. VII. p. 771.

^t Baroc. 211. in Luc. l. VII. c. 13.

^u Cod. XLII. Theol. Lambec.

^x In Luc. c. iii. No. 33.

TERTULLIANUS, A. D. 200.

24. *Tertulliani Apol.* c. 21. p. 19.

Having spoken of the Son of God as the Logos or Word, he says, "We have learnt that he was put forth from God, and begotten by being put forth, and was therefore called the Son of God, and God, from unity of substance: for God is a Spirit. And when a ray is put forth from the sun, a part from the whole, yet the sun is in the ray, because it is a ray of the sun, nor is the substance separated, but extended. Thus Spirit proceeds from Spirit, and God from God, as one light kindled from another light. The original continues entire and undiminished, although you borrow from thence many derivatives. In the same manner what proceeds from God is God, and the Son of God, and both are one^y." This passage requires no comment. I have already spoken, in my other work, N^o. 302, of the favourite illustration of the fathers, by which they compared the generation of the Son to the kindling of one light from another. Like all other illustrations or analogies, this is valid only in certain points, nor must it be carried beyond the proper bounds. The fathers did not mean to explain the *mode* of the divine generation, but merely to shew how one thing may proceed from another without the original being dimin-

^y Hunc ex Deo prolatum dicimus, et prolatione generatum, et idcirco Filium Dei, et Deum dictum ex unitate substantiæ. Nam et Deus Spiritus. Et cum radius ex sole porrigitur, portio ex summa, sed sol erit in radio, quia solis est radius, nec separatur substantia,

sed extenditur. Ita de Spiritu Spiritus, et de Deo Deus, ut lumen de lumine accensum: manet integra et indefecta materiæ matrix, etsi plures inde traduces qualitatum mutueris. Ita et quod de Deo profectum est, Deus est, et Dei Filius, et unus ambo.

ished; and that the substance of both may be the same. The expression of the Nicene Creed, "God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God," is only a modification of the words used by Tertullian an hundred and twenty-five years before.

25. *Tertulliani de Oratione* c. 2. p. 130.

Among the passages of scripture which seem to support the unity of the Father and the Son, and consequently the doctrine of the Trinity, none are more plain and unequivocal than the declaration of our Saviour himself, *I and the Father are one*, John x. 30. The Socinian commentators contend, that this means an unity of counsel and action: "Ut voluntate ita operatione conspiramus: quicquid ego volo, vult Pater; et quicquid Pater operatur, per me operatur^z." "Penitus inter nos consentimus et conspiramus.—Unum inter se dicuntur, qui inter se uniti sunt, et plane consentiunt, unum spirant; quod maxime locum habet inter filium patri obsequentissimum, et patrem filii amantissimum^a." Such are the Socinian explanations of this passage, though the author of the last notices the fact, that the Jews, who heard our Saviour deliver these words, put a very different construction on them, and took up stones to stone him, *because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God*. It is unquestionable, therefore, that the Jews understood something more than an unity of counsel: they thought, that if the Father and the Son are one, the Son as well as the Father must be God: and unless we believe that there are two Gods, we can only explain their unity according to the Trinitarian hypothesis. Tertullian appears to have taken the

^z Crellius ad locum.

^a Slichtingius ad locum.

same view of these words. In his treatise upon the Lord's Prayer, when he is explaining the first words of it, *Our Father, which art in heaven*, he says, "In addressing him as Father, we also call him God. It is an appellation of affection and of power. The Son also is invoked in the Father: "for *I*, he says, *and the Father are one*^b." If Tertullian had understood our Saviour to have spoken merely of an unity of counsel and action, he could not have inferred, that the Son, as well as the Father, is always included in the invocation of the Lord's Prayer. See N^o. 45.

26. *Tertulliani de Oratione*, c. 25.

The following passage is not in the edition of Tertullian published by Priorius in 1675. The treatise *de Oratione* was printed for the first time by Gagneius at Paris in 1545, and was evidently imperfect. The edition of 1664 contained a few lines in continuation of the fourteenth chapter, which were supplied from a very ancient MS.: and in 1713 Muratori published at Padua, in the third volume of his *Anecdota*, nine additional chapters, which he found in a MS. in the Ambrosian library at Milan. The bishop of Lincoln is inclined to doubt the genuineness of these additional chapters^c: but they are admitted by Semler in his edition of Tertullian published at Hall in 1770, and again in 1824. In the fourth volume of that edition, c. 25, we have a dissertation upon the hours of prayer observed in the apostolical times: and the writer, after observing, that the third, sixth, and ninth hours are mentioned in the

^b Item in Patre Filius invocatur; *Ego enim, inquit, et Pater unum sumus.*

^c Eccles. Hist. of the Second and Third Centuries from the Writings of Tertullian, p. 406.

Acts of the Apostles, continues, "Although no observance of these hours is positively enjoined, yet it may be well to lay down some rule, which may enforce the exhortation to prayer, and drive us at times, as if by a law, to leave our business, and turn to such duties; so that we may do, what we read was observed by Daniel according to the Jewish custom, and pray not less than three times a day at least, being under this obligation to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost^d." Whatever translation may be given of the last sentence, it seems plainly to declare, that we are bound to unite the three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in our *adorations*: and perhaps we may find some confirmation of the genuineness of this passage, when we see Cyprian also connecting the three Jewish hours of prayer with the Trinity, in a passage, which has considerable resemblance to this of Tertullian. Cyprian also wrote a treatise upon the Lord's prayer, in which he says, "We find that Daniel and the three children in offering their prayers observed the third, sixth, and ninth hours, as a sacramental type of the Trinity, which was to be revealed in the last times^e." The same idea may be traced in a contemporary of Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, who writes as follows: "If

^d Etsi simpliciter se habeant sine ullius observationis præcepto, bonum tamen sit aliquam constituere præsumtionem, qua [quæ] et orandi admonitionem constringat, et quasi lege ad tale munus extorqueat a negotiis interdum, ut quod Danieli quoque legimus observatum utique ex Israelis disciplina, ne minus ter die saltem

adoremus, debitores Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.

^e In orationibus vero celebrandis invenimus observasse cum Daniele tres pueros horam tertiam, sextam, nonam, sacramento scilicet Trinitatis, quæ in novissimis temporibus manifestari habebat. *De Orat.* p. 214-15.

“ some allot fixed hours for prayer, as for instance
 “ the third, sixth, and ninth, the perfect Christian
 “ makes his whole life a course of prayer, being
 “ anxious through prayer to commune with God :
 “ ——— but the triple division of these hours, and
 “ their being honoured by equal services of prayer,
 “ is known to those who are acquainted with the
 “ blessed trinity of the holy stations^f.” The last
 sentence will be understood by those persons, who
 are familiar with the Greek term *μονή*, and the Latin
 term *statio*, in the early ecclesiastical writers ; by
 which they meant to speak of certain fixed times
 and seasons for religious exercises, whether for
 prayer or fasting^g. These were called *stations*;
 and it appears from this passage, as well as others,
 that three such stations were reckoned particularly
 holy and solemn.

I did not quote this passage at p. 38, among the
 other instances of the word *Trinity* being used by
 Clement, because no express allusion is made to the
 three persons of the Godhead ; though I have little
 doubt, that the same fanciful notion, which was
 held by Tertullian and Cyprian, was also passing
 in the mind of the Alexandrian father : and though
 we may not agree with these writers in seeing any
 resemblance between the three hours of prayer and
 the three persons of the Godhead, yet the early
 writers must have been strongly impressed with
 the latter doctrine, or they would not have disco-
 vered for it such a fanciful analogy.

^f Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ὥρῶν διανο-
 μὰς τριχῇ διεσταμένας, καὶ ταῖς
 ἰσαῖς εὐχαῖς τετιμημένας, ἴσασιν οἱ
 γνωρίζοντες τὴν μακαρίαν τῶν ἀγίων

τριὰδα μονῶν. Strom. VII. 7.
 p. 854.

^g See Du Cange v. *Statio*.

27. *Tertulliani de Cultu Fæminarum*, lib. II. c. 1.
p. 154.

It has often been observed, that St. Paul says in one place to his converts, *Know ye not, that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?* 1 Cor. vi. 19; and in another, *Know ye not, that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?* iii. 16; and the divinity of the Holy Ghost has been justly inferred from a comparison of the two places. Tertullian may be quoted as holding the same doctrine, and expressing it in terms which cannot be mistaken. “Since we
“are all the temple of God, the Holy Ghost being
“placed within us and consecrated, Modesty is the
“priestess of that temple, which permits nothing
“unclean or profane to be introduced, lest the God,
“who dwells within, may be offended at the pollution of his sanctuary and leave it^h.”

28. *Tertulliani de Baptismo*, c. 6. p. 226.

Having compared the water of baptism to the pool of Bethesda, he carries on the analogy by supposing an angel to give to the baptismal water its spiritual efficacy. “The angel, who witnesses the
“baptism, prepares the way for the Holy Ghost
“which is to follow by the washing away of sins;
“which washing is obtained by faith, sealed in the
“Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For if *in three*
“*witnesses every word shall be established*, (Matt.
“xviii. 16,) how much more does the number of
“the divine names supply confidence to our hope,

^h Nam cum omnes templum Dei sinus, illato in nos et consecrato Spiritu Sancto, ejus templi æditua et antistita Pudicitia

est, quæ nihil immundum nec profanum inferri sinat, ne Deus ille, qui inhabitat, inquinatam sedem offensus derelinquat.

“ while we have in the blessing the same persons as
 “ witnesses of our faith, who are also the promisers
 “ of our salvation? But when the witnessing of
 “ our faith and the promise of our salvation are
 “ given under the pledge of three persons, there is
 “ necessarily added a mention of the church: for
 “ where the three are, that is, the Father, Son, and
 “ Holy Ghost, there is the church, which is the
 “ body of the threeⁱ.” This remarkable passage
 might lead to much discussion concerning the con-
 fession of faith, which was made anciently at bap-
 tism: and bishop Bull has quoted it to shew, that
 the article of belief *in the holy catholic church*, or
 at least *in the church*, was found in the creeds re-
 cited at baptism in the days of Tertullian^k. I shall
 only observe, that the Apostles’ Creed, as we now
 use it, is an extension or expansion of a more sim-
 ple creed, which received successive additions in or-
 der to meet successive heresies. It is probable, that
 at first the catechumen said, “ I believe in God, the
 “ Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;” and then the bap-
 tism followed in the name of these same three per-
 sons^l. This remark may illustrate the passage now

ⁱ Angelus baptismi arbiter
 superventuro Spiritui Sancto
 vias dirigit ablutione delictor-
 um, quam fides impetrat, ob-
 signata in Patre et Filio et Spi-
 ritu Sancto. Nam si *in tri-
 bus testibus stabit omne verbum*,
 quanto magis, dum habemus
 per benedictionem eosdem ar-
 bitros fidei, quos et sponsores
 salutis, sufficit ad fiduciam spei
 nostræ etiam numerus nomi-
 num divinorum? Quum autem
 sub tribus et testatio fidei et
 sponsio salutis pignerentur, ne-

cessario adjicitur ecclesiæ men-
 tio: quoniam ubi tres, id est
 Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanc-
 tus, ibi ecclesia, quæ trium cor-
 pus est.

^k Judicium Ecclesiæ Catho-
 licæ, VI. 7. He also quotes
 another passage from c. 11. of
 this same treatise, and one
 from Cyprian’s 76th Epistle,
 which proves the same point.
 See also the bishop of Lincoln’s
 work upon Tertullian, p. 318,
 430.

^l This is perhaps indicated

quoted from Tertullian : and I would observe, that when a person said, " I believe in God, the Father, " Son, and Holy Ghost," the application of the term *God* to the second and third persons is more apparent than in the present expanded form of the Creed. The clause, which seems to have followed this confession in the days of Tertullian, was, *and in the church*, or perhaps, *and in the holy church*.

It is plain from this passage of Tertullian, that the form of words prescribed by our Saviour for baptism was used in his day : and he tells us in another place, that the person " was immersed not " once, but three times, at each of the names ^m." If this form of words, as has often been shewed, is itself a strong confirmation of the doctrine of the Trinity, we have certainly a right to add, that Tertullian viewed it in this light ; and the passage is so far available to my object. I do not intend to press it any further, nor to quote it as supporting the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. Tertullian has been supposed to allude to that text in another passage, which I shall adduce in N^o. 38. I cannot however subscribe to this notion : and I would merely observe, that the advocates for the authenticity of the text might refer with equal reason to the passage now before us, where the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are so expressly mentioned as *three witnesses*.

29. *Tertulliani adv. Marcionem*, l. II. c. 9. p. 386.

The divinity of the Holy Ghost is implied in the

in those words of Tertullian,
" In aqua demissus, et inter
" pauca verba tinctus." De
Baptismo, c. 2.

^m Nam nec semel, sed ter,
ad singula nomina in personas
singulas tingimur. *Adv. Prax-*
eam, 26.

following passage, in which Tertullian is exposing the error of the Gnostics, who made the Creator in some measure the author of evil, because the soul of man, which is *the breath of life*, was breathed into him by God: (Gen. ii. 7.) Upon which Tertullian observes, "We ought to have a clear idea of what the soul is: and in the first place we must keep to the meaning of the Greek term, which is not *spirit*, but *breath*. For some persons, who have translated from the Greek, without reflecting on the difference, or regarding the propriety of words, put *spirit* instead of *breath*, and give occasion to the heretics of staining the Spirit of God, i. e. God himself, with sinⁿ."

30. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeas*, c. 2. p. 501.

The whole of Tertullian's treatise against Praxeas might be cited as demonstrating his belief in the Trinity; but I shall only bring forward some of the plainest passages. Praxeas was one of the precursors of Sabellius, and confounded the persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, asserting the second and third persons not to be distinct beings, but merely modes or energies of the Father^o. Tertullian says of him, "He thinks that we cannot believe in one God in any other way, than if we say that the very same person is Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; as if *one* might not be *all*, (if *all* proceed from *one*,) by unity of substance; and still the mystery

ⁿ Ad hoc interpretanda erit qualitas animæ. In primis tenendum, quod Græca scriptura signavit, *adflatum* nominans, non *spiritum*. Quidam enim de Græco interpretantes, non recogitata differentia, nec cu-

rata proprietate verborum, pro *adflatu*, *spiritum* ponunt, et dant hæreticis occasionem Spiritum Dei delicto infuscandi, id est, ipsum Deum.

^o I may refer to my Bampton Lectures, note 103. p. 588.

“ of the divine economy be preserved, which divides
 “ the unity into a trinity, pointing out three, the
 “ Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost : but three, not
 “ in condition, but in order ; not in substance, but
 “ in form ; not in power, but in species ; but of one
 “ substance, and of one condition, and of one power.
 “ — These persons assume the number and ar-
 “ rangement of the trinity to be a division of the
 “ unity : whereas the unity, which derives a trinity
 “ from itself, is not destroyed by it, but has its dif-
 “ ferent offices performed. They therefore boast, that
 “ two and three Gods are preached by us, but that
 “ they themselves are worshippers of one God ; as
 “ if the unity, when improperly contracted, did not
 “ create heresy ; and a trinity, when properly consi-
 “ dered, did not constitute truth^P.” It would be hardly
 possible for Athanasius himself, or the compiler of
 the Athanasian Creed, to have delivered the doc-
 trine of the Trinity in stronger terms than these.
 I shall only remark, that the unity of *substance*, or
 consubstantiality of the Father and Son, is here ex-
 pressly maintained : and the meaning, which Ter-
 tullian attached to the word *substance*, may be seen

^P Unicum Deum non alias
 putat credendum, quam si ip-
 sum eundemque et Patrem, Fi-
 lium et Spiritum Sanctum di-
 cat : quasi non sic quoque unus
 sit omnia, dum ex uno omnia,
 per substantiæ scilicet unitatem,
 et nihilominus custodiatur œcon-
 omiæ sacramentum, quæ uni-
 tatem in trinitatem disponit, tres
 dirigens, Patrem et Filium et
 Spiritum Sanctum : tres autem
 non statu, sed gradu ; nec sub-
 stantia, sed forma ; nec potes-
 tate, sed specie ; unius autem

substantiæ, et unius status, et
 unius potestatis. — Numerum
 et dispositionem trinitatis di-
 visionem præsumunt unitatis ;
 quando unitas ex semetipsa de-
 rivans trinitatem non destrua-
 tur ab illa, sed administretur.
 Itaque duos et tres jam jacti-
 tant a nobis prædicari, se vero
 unius Dei cultores præsumunt ;
 quasi non et unitas irrationali-
 ter collecta hæresim faciat, tri-
 nitas rationaliter expensa veri-
 tatem constituat.

by what he says in another place, that the names of God and Lord are applied differently to the Deity ; that the name of Lord implies his power, but “ God “ is the name of the substance itself, that is, of the “ divinity ^q.”

31. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeam*, c. 4. p. 502.

He goes on to shew, that he does not destroy “ the monarchy,” i. e. the unity and sole sovereignty of God, by believing the Father to be assisted in his government of the world by the Son and Holy Ghost. This would be the case, if he agreed with the Gnostics in imagining another God, independent of, and opposed to, the Creator: “ but when I derive the Son from nothing else, but from the substance of the Father, when I suppose him to do nothing without the will of the Father, and to have obtained all power from the Father, how can I be said by this belief to destroy the monarchy, which I thus preserve by supposing it to be delivered to the Son by the Father? I would also have my expressions applied to the third order, because I conceive the Spirit to be derived from no other source, than from the Father by the Son ^r.”

32. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeam*, c. 8. p. 504.

His argument having led him to speak of *the Word* as put forth from God, he observes that this putting forth, (*προβολή*), when applied to the genera-

^q Deus substantiæ ipsius nomen, id est divinitatis. *Adv. Hermog.* 3. p. 234.

^r Ceterum qui Filium non aliunde deduco, sed de substantia Patris, nihil facientem sine Patris voluntate, omnem a Patre consecutum potestatem, quo-

modo possum de fide destruere monarchiam, quam a Patre Filio traditam in Filio servo? Hoc mihi et in tertium gradum dictum sit, quia Spiritum non aliunde puto, quam a Patre per Filium.

tion of the Son, is very different from the sense given to the term by the Gnostics, when they speak of one æon producing another. “ The Word is “ always in the Father, as he says, *I am in the* “ *Father*: (John xiv. 20.) and always with God, as “ it is written, *and the Word was with God*: (i. 1.) “ and never separated from the Father, or different “ from the Father, because *I and the Father are* “ *one*. (x. 30.) This, which is the true sense of the “ word *probola*, (putting forth,) preserves the unity; “ in which sense we say that the Son was put forth “ from the Father, but is not separate from him. “ For God put forth the Word, as the root puts “ forth the shrub, and the fountain puts forth the “ river, and the sun puts forth the ray——nor yet “ is the shrub distinct from the root, nor the river “ from the fountain, nor the ray from the sun; as “ neither is the Word from God. According, there- “ fore, to the form of these analogies, I profess to “ speak of two beings, God and his Word, the Fa- “ ther and his Son. For the root and the shrub “ are two things, but united: and the fountain and “ the stream are two species, but undivided; and “ the sun and the ray are two forms, but adhering “ together. Whatever proceeds from another must “ be second with reference to that from which it “ proceeds, but it is not therefore separate. Where- “ ever there is a second, there are two things; and “ where there is a third, there are three things. “ For the Spirit is the third from God and his Son, “ as the fruit which comes from the shrub is third “ from the root; and the river which proceeds from “ the stream is third from the fountain; and the “ point which proceeds from the ray is third from

“ the sun.—Always remember, that this is the
 “ rule which I follow, when I assert the Father,
 “ Son, and Holy Ghost to be not separated from
 “ each other^s.”

33. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeam*, c. 11. p. 506.

Having quoted some passages of Scripture, in which God speaks of his Son, he continues, “ You will make him a liar and deceiver and a false expounder of this faith, if, when he himself is son to himself, he ascribed the person of a son to another being, whereas all these passages of scripture prove the clear existence and the distinction of a Trinity^t.” I need not observe, that this argument is directed against the Sabellian notion, which destroys the personality of the Son, and in fact makes God to be Son to himself, as Tertullian here

^s Sermo ergo et in Patre semper, sicut dicit, *Ego in Patre*; et apud Deum semper, sicut scriptum est, *Et Sermo erat apud Deum*: et nunquam separatus a Patre, aut alius a Patre, quia, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*. Hæc erit probola veritatis custos unitatis, qua prolatum dicimus Filium a Patre, sed non separatum. Protulit enim Deus Sermone, sicut radix fruticem, et fons fluvium, et sol radium—nec frutex tamen a radice, nec fluvius a fonte, nec radius a sole discernitur, sicut nec a Deo Sermo. Igitur, secundum horum exemplorum formam, profiteor me duos dicere, Deum et Sermone ejus, Patrem et Filium ipsius. Nam et radix et frutex duæ res sunt, sed conjunctæ: et fons et flumen duæ species sunt, sed indivisæ: et sol

et radius duæ formæ sunt, sed cohærentes. Omne quod prodit ex aliquo, secundum sit ejus necesse est de quo prodit, non ideo tamen est separatum. Secundus autem ubi est, duo sunt: et tertius ubi est, tres sunt. Tertius enim est Spiritus a Deo et Filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice: et tertius a fonte rivus ex flumine; et tertius a sole apex ex radio—Hanc me regulam professum, quum inseparatos ab alterutro Patrem et Filium et Spiritum testor, tene ubique.

^t Tu porro eum mendacem efficias et fallacem et deceptorem fidei hujus, si cum ipse esset sibi filius, alii dabat filii personam; quando scripturæ omnes et demonstrationem et distinctionem trinitatis ostendant.

remarks. It will also be seen, that the word *persona* is used in this passage: and the advocates of Sabellianism would wish us to understand, that it merely means a character assumed, or a part performed, by some person: as when Cicero says of himself, "I sustain myself three characters, (persons,) my own, that of the adversary, and of the "judge". It is true that Cicero here uses the word *persona* in its original^x and classical sense: but to assume from such an instance, that this was the meaning given to the word by ecclesiastical writers is most illogical, and betrays little acquaintance with the works of the fathers. It is in fact a *petitio principii*; it is to assume the very point at issue. What we want to ascertain is, not what was the meaning given to the word by Cicero and classical writers: that may be learned from dictionaries and indices: but we wish to know whether this classical sense was retained by the fathers; or whether in course of time the word did not receive a new theological meaning. This can only be discovered by a perusal of the writings of the fathers: and if we find them using *persona*, according to its modern sense, for a separately existing being, for a person distinguished by individuality, it is in vain that the Sabellian refers to classical antiquity: the criticism may be correct, but it is irrelevant: and Cicero can no more acquaint us with the meaning of *persona*, as used by Tertullian or Jerom, than these late writers can enable us to illustrate Cicero.

^u Sustineo unus tres personas, meam, adversarii, judicis.

^x I perhaps ought not to say *original*: for *persona* seems to have signified properly and pri-

marily a *mask* worn by the actor: from whence its secondary meaning, or the first of its derivative meanings, was the character sustained by the actor.

In the passage which I have quoted from Tertullian, he is exposing the inconsistency of Sabellianism: and he says, that when God speaks of his Son, if he does not mean a Son in the proper sense of the term, i. e. a Being individually distinct, He deceives us by giving the *person* of a Son to another Being, or rather to Himself. Here the word *persona* is used by Tertullian in its classical sense: in which sense, no doubt, Praxeas used the terms “*persona filii*,” *the person of the Son*: but Tertullian goes on to shew, that the word *persona* had come to bear a different meaning, and was applied to the *persons* of the Son and the Holy Ghost, according to the doctrine which was held by the orthodox party. Having quoted some more passages which speak of the Father as having a Son, he concludes, “These few instances will shew very plainly the distinction of the Trinity: for there is the Spirit who speaks, and the Father to whom he speaks, and the Son of whom he speaks. So the other words, which are spoken either to the Father concerning the Son, or to the Son concerning the Father, or to the Spirit, establish each person in his own individuality.” Unless we suppose Tertullian to have been advocating the doctrines which it was the express object of this treatise to confute, we must conceive him here to have used the word *person* in its theological, and not in its classical signification.

⁊ His itaque paucis tamen manifeste distinctio Trinitatis exponitur. Est enim ipse qui pronuntiat Spiritus; et Pater, ad quem pronuntiat; et Filius, de quo pronuntiat. Sic cætera,

quæ nunc ad Patrem de Filio vel ad Filium, nunc ad Filium de Patre vel ad Patrem, nunc ad Spiritum pronuntiantur, unamquamque personam in sua proprietate constituunt.

This is still more evident in the continuation of the same argument, which also shews Tertullian's interpretation of Gen. i. 26. "If you still take offence at the number of the Trinity, as if it was not connected in simple unity, I ask how does one individual Being speak in the plural number? *Let us make man* &c. when he ought to have said, *I will make man* &c. as being one and singular. So also in what follows, *Behold Adam is become as one of us*, (Gen. iii. 22.) he deceives us, or is amusing himself, by speaking in the plural, when he is one, and alone and singular. Or was he speaking to the angels, as the Jews explain it, because they also do not acknowledge the Son? or because he was himself Father, Son, and Spirit, did he therefore make himself plural, and speak plurally to himself? The fact is, that he used the plural expressions, *Let us make*, and *our*, and *to us*, because the Son, a second person, His Word, was united to him, and the Spirit, a third person, in the Word. For with whom did he make man, and to whom did he make him like? It was with his Son, who was to put on the human nature, and with the Spirit, who was to sanctify man, that he conversed as with ministers and witnesses, by the unity of the Trinity. Again the following words distinguish between the persons, *And God made man, in the image of God made he him*. (Gen. i. 27.)² Tertullian then goes on to speak of

² Si te adhuc numerus scandalizat Trinitatis, quasi non connexæ in unitate simplici, interrogo quomodo unicus et singularis pluraliter loquitur? *Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et*

similitudinem nostram; cum debuerit dixisse, *Faciam hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem meam*, utpote unicus et singularis. Sed et in sequentibus, *Ecce Adam factus est tanquam*

the Son as assisting the Father in all the works of creation, according to that passage in St. John, *by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made*, (i. 3.) after which he adds, “if this same being is God, according to the expression of St. John, *the Word was God*, you have two beings, one saying, *Let it be made*, another making it. But I have already explained in what sense you are to understand *another*, with reference to person, not to substance; to distinction, not to division. But although I every where hold one substance in three united beings, yet from the necessary meaning of words I must make him who commands, and him who executes, to be different beings^a.”

It will perhaps be allowed from these passages, that Tertullian understood the Son and the Holy Ghost to be separately existing *persons*, according to the full meaning given to that term by Trinitarian writers.

unus ex nobis, fallit aut ludit, ut, cum unus et solus et singularis esset, numerose loqueretur. Aut numquid angelis loquebatur, ut Judæi interpretantur, quia nec ipsi Filium agnoscunt? An quia ipse erat Pater, Filius, Spiritus, ideo pluralem se præstans, pluraliter sibi loquebatur? Immo quia jam adhærebat illi Filius, secunda persona, Sermo ipsius, et tertia Spiritus in Sermone, ideo pluraliter pronuntiavit, *Faciamus, et nostram, et nobis*. Cum quibus enim faciebat hominem, et quibus faciebat similem? cum Filio quidem, qui erat induturus hominem, Spiritu vero, qui erat sanctificaturus hominem, quasi cum min-

istris et arbitris, ex unitate trinitatis loquebatur. Denique sequens scriptura distinguit inter personas, *Et fecit Deus hominem, ad imaginem Dei fecit illum*.

^a Qui si ipse Deus est, secundum Joannem, *Deus erat Sermo*, habes duos, alium dicentem ut fiat, alium facientem. Alium autem quomodo accipere debeas, jam professus sum; personæ non substantiæ nomine; ad distinctionem, non ad divisionem. Ceterum etsi ubique teneo unam substantiam in tribus coherentibus, tamen alium dicam oportet ex necessitate sensus, eum qui jubet, et eum qui facit.

34. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeam*, c. 13. p. 507.

Part of the following passage has been adduced in my other work, N^o. 55, where I have considered the words of St. Paul in Rom. ix. 5. It is preceded by several quotations from the Old Testament, such as Gen. xix. 24; Psalm xlv. 7, lxxxii. 6, cx. 1; Isaiah liii. 1; in which mention is made of more than one God or Lord: and Tertullian, like all the other fathers, interprets these expressions of the first and second persons of the Trinity. Being charged, in consequence of this interpretation, with preaching two Gods and two Lords, he denies it, and says, “ We do indeed distinguish two, the Father and the “ Son, and three with the Holy Ghost.—Not how- “ ever that we ever name with our mouth two Gods “ or two Lords, although the Father is God, and the “ Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God, and each “ is God^b.” He then observes, that though two Gods and two Lords are mentioned in the Old Testament, and before the coming of Christ; yet since his coming, when the heathen were drawn off from many gods to one, the Christians had been unwilling ever to speak of God in the plural number: “ Therefore I will not in any way use the term “ *Gods* or *Lords*, but I will follow the apostle; so “ that if the Father and the Son are to be men- “ tioned together, I would call the Father *God*, and “ would name Jesus Christ as *Lord*. But I can “ speak of Christ singly as God, as the same apostle “ says, *of whom is Christ; who*, he says, *is God*

^b Duos quidem definimus, et duos Dominos nunquam ex Patrem et Filium, et jam tres ore nostro proferimus; non quasi cum Spiritu Sancto, secundum non et Pater Deus, et Filius rationem œconomix, quæ facit Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus, numerum——Duos tamen Deos et Deus unusquisque.

“ *over all, blessed for ever.* For I might call a ray
 “ of the sun by itself *the sun*: but if I am naming
 “ the sun, of which it is a ray, I will not immedi-
 “ ately call the ray also *the sun*. For although I
 “ would not make two suns, yet I would as much
 “ reckon the sun and its ray to be two things, and
 “ two species of one undivided substance, as God
 “ and His Word, as the Father and the Son^c.”

35. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeam*, c. 19. p. 511.

The following quotation is similar to the last, and, if possible, contains a still stronger attestation to the doctrine of a trinity in unity. “ If they are
 “ unwilling that the Son should be reckoned a se-
 “ cond person with reference to the Father, lest a
 “ second should make two Gods to be named, I have
 “ shewn that two Gods and two Lords are in fact
 “ mentioned in scripture: and lest they should still
 “ take offence at this, I have given the reason, that
 “ there are not two Gods nor two Lords mentioned,
 “ except as the Father and the Son are two: and this
 “ not by a separation of the substance, but according
 “ to the divine economy^d; when we assert the Son
 “ to be not divided and separated from the Father;

^c Itaque Deos omnino non dicam, nec Dominos: sed apostolum sequar, ut si pariter nominandi fuerint Pater et Filius, Deum Patrem appellem, et Jesum Christum Dominum nominem. Solum autem Christum potero Deum dicere, sicut idem apostolus, *Ex quibus Christus, qui est, inquit, Deus super omnia benedictus in ævum omne.* Nam et radium solis seorsum solem vocabo: solem autem nominans cujus est radius, non statim et radium solem appel-

labo. Nam etsi soles duos non faciam, tamen et solem et radium ejus tam duas res, et duas species unius indivisæ substantiæ numerabo, quam Deum et Sermonem ejus, quam Patrem et Filium.

^d I find it almost impossible to translate the word *dispositione*, which answers to the Greek *οικονομία*, concerning which I have made some remarks in my former work, N^o. 45. p. 70. (second edition.)

“and different, not in nature, but in order; who although he is called God, when he is named by himself, does not therefore make two Gods, but one, from the very circumstance of his being called God from the unity of the Father^e.”

36. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeam*, c. 22. p. 513.

The remarkable words of our Saviour in John viii. 19, are thus commented on by Tertullian. “When asked, *where was the Father?* he answered, *that neither himself nor the Father was known to them;* in which he speaks of two persons as unknown: *but if they had known him, they would have known the Father:* not as if he was himself Father and Son, but because from their indivisibility the one can neither be known nor unknown without the other^f.”

37. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeam*, c. 22. p. 513.

Another passage in the same chapter of St. John's Gospel leads to this remark: “*I proceeded forth and came from God:* (viii. 42.) and yet they are

^e Si Filium nolunt secundum a Patre reputari, ne secundus duos faciat Deos dici, ostendimus etiam duos Deos in scriptura relatos, et duos Dominos: et tamen ne de isto scandalizentur, rationem reddidimus, qua Dei non duo dicantur, nec Domini, sed qua Pater et Filius duo: et hoc non ex separatione substantiæ, sed ex dispositione, cum individuum et separatum [inseparatum] Filium a Patre pronuntiamus; nec statu, sed gradu alium; qui etsi Deus dicatur, quando nominatur singularis, non ideo duos Deos faciat, sed unum, hoc ipso quod et Deus ex unitate Patris vocari

habeat. It is plain, that we ought to read *inseparatum* as in c. 22. p. 512. at ubi se negat esse solum, *Sed ego*, inquit, *et qui me misit Pater*, nonne duos demonstrat, tam duos quam *inseparatos*? immo totum erat hoc quod docebat, *inseparatos* duos esse.

^f Interrogatus ubi esset Pater, neque se neque Patrem notum esse illis respondens, duos dixit ignotos: quod si ipsum nossent, Patrem nossent; non quidem quasi ipse esset Pater et Filius, sed quia per individuitatem neque agnosci neque ignorari alter sine altero potest.

“ not separated, although he says that he *proceeded* “ *forth*, as some take advantage of this expression : “ but he proceeded forth from the Father as a ray “ from the sun, as a stream from the fountain, as a “ shrub from the seed ^g.” Tertullian seems to have given the right interpretation of this passage, by understanding ἐξῆλθον and ἦκω to contain different meanings. Ἐξῆλθον relates to the generation of the Son by the Father, ἦκω to his being sent into the world.

38. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeam*, c. 25. p. 515.

Tertullian notices those passages, in which the Son speaks of sending the Comforter, and yet the Father was to send him : and upon those words of our Saviour, *All things that the Father hath are mine : therefore said I, that he shall take of mine, and shew it unto you*, (John xvi. 15.) he observes, “ Thus the union of the Father in the Son, and of “ the Son in the Comforter, makes three beings “ united one to the other : which three are one “ thing (unum), not one person (unus) : as it is writ- “ ten, *I and the Father are one*, (John x. 30.) with “ respect to the unity of substance, not to numerical “ individuality ^h.” This passage has been quoted in support of the genuineness of 1 John v. 7 : to which text Tertullian is supposed to allude, when he says, *which three are one*, “ qui tres unum sunt.” But if any argument is to be drawn from this passage, it

^g *Ego enim ex Deo exivi et veni : et tamen non separantur, licet exisse dixerit, ut quidam arripiunt hujus dicti occasionem. Exivit autem a Patre, ut radius ex sole, ut rivus ex fonte, ut frutex ex semine.*

^h Ita connexus Patris in Fi-

lio, et Filii in Paraclete, tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero : qui tres unum sint, non unus : quomodo dictum est, *Ego et Pater unum sumus* ; ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem.

would rather appear to be unfavourable to the genuineness of the text: for after saying, *which three are one*, Tertullian confirms the assertion by quoting, *I and the Father are one*: but had he already meant to quote the stronger and plainer passage in 1 John v. 7. he would hardly have proceeded to prove the unity of the three persons, by citing a passage, which asserts only the unity of twoⁱ.

39. *Tertulliani adv. Praxeam*, c. 30. p. 518.

I add this passage on account of its strong attestation to the divinity of the Holy Ghost. “He
 “poured forth the Holy Ghost, the gift which he
 “had received from the Father, the third who bears
 “the divine name, the third in the order of majesty
 “—*who leads into all truth*, which according to the
 “Christian sacrament is in the Father, and the Son,
 “and the Holy Ghost. But it is a sort of Jewish
 “creed, to have such a belief in one God, as that
 “you refuse to reckon the Son together with Him,
 “and after the Son the Spirit. For what other dif-
 “ference is there but this between ourselves and
 “them? What is the effect of the gospel, what is
 “the substance of the New Testament, which says
 “that *the Law and the Prophets were until John*,
 “unless the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in whom
 “we believe as three, make one God? It was the
 “wish of God to give a new form to faith, so that a
 “new belief might be held concerning his unity
 “through the Son and Holy Ghost, that God might
 “now be openly known under his proper names and
 “characters, who formerly also was preached by

ⁱ See the Bishop of Lincoln's work upon Tertullian, p. 544.

“ the Son and Holy Ghost without being under-
“ stood ^k.”

After the quotations which have been given from Tertullian, and particularly from his treatise against Praxeas, few of my readers can deny that he acknowledged a trinity in unity; that he believed the Son and the Holy Ghost to be each of them God, of the same substance or nature with the Father, and to be inseparably connected with Him, though each is a distinct person. Whoever consults the treatises from which these extracts are taken, will find that some of them were written after Tertullian had adopted the errors of Montanus. Allusions to this heresy will be observed in some of the passages which support the doctrine of the Trinity: upon which I need only refer to what was stated in my former work, that the opinions of Montanus were never objected to concerning the Trinity. It will be seen, that the word *Trinitas* is of frequent occurrence in the writings of Tertullian: and I have observed, that he uses the term *persona* in its modern theological sense. Semler informs us, that no writer before Tertullian had used either of these terms in

^k Hic interim acceptum a Patre munus effudit Spiritum Sanctum, tertium nomen divinitatis, et tertium gradum majestatis—*deductorem omnis veritatis*, quæ in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto secundum Christianum sacramentum. Ceterum Judaicæ fidei ista res, sic unum Deum credere, ut Filium adnumerare ei nolis, et post Filium Spiritum. Quid enim erit inter nos et illos, nisi differentia ista? Quod opus Evangelii, quæ est

substantia Novi Testamenti, statuens *Legem et Prophetas usque ad Joannem*, si non exinde Pater et Filius et Spiritus, tres crediti, unum Deum sistunt? Sic Deus voluit novare sacramentum, ut nove unus crederetur per Filium et Spiritum, ut coram jam Deus in suis propriis nominibus et personis cognosceretur, qui et retro per Filium et Spiritum prædicatus non intelligebatur.

a similar manner¹: a remark which it is impossible to disprove, because the writings of no Latin Father, prior to the age of Tertullian, have come down to us; but this very circumstance reduces the remark itself to a gratuitous assumption; and if Tertullian was not the first writer who held the *doctrine* of the Trinity, it is of no importance, whether he was the first to make this use of the term *Trinitas* or no. I would observe of this term, as of the Greek *τριάς*, that it has no necessary connection with the language of theology, nor does it of itself convey the notion of a trinity in unity. *Trinitas* merely signifies *three things*; and when Semler asserts, that Tertullian was the first writer who applied the term to the persons of the godhead, he makes an assertion which is extremely improbable. If a person had merely spoken of the three names repeated in the form of baptism, he would have been likely to call them *a trinity* of names. Praxeas, whose tenets were an anticipation of Sabellianism, might undoubtedly have spoken of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost as *a Trinity*; meaning, that they were three modes or operations; so that the real question is, whether Tertullian delivered a doctrine concerning these three persons, which had not been expressed by any former writer. The German editor would have wished to insinuate this: but, as is usual with his school, he knew that more effect may be produced by suggesting an inference, than by making a direct assertion, which admits of being refuted; and whether the *doctrine* of a trinity in unity was held by writers who preceded Tertullian, I leave to the reader to decide.

¹ Note to the treatise adv. Praxeam, c. 21.

It may be added, that, according to Jerom^m, Tertullian wrote a work *De Trinitate*, which is now lost.

HIPPOLYTUS, A. D. 220.

The treatise of Hippolytus against Noetus is a suitable companion to that of Tertullian against Praxeas. The two heretics nearly agreed in their sentiments, and both of them were forerunners of Sabellius; but Noetus appears to have been a more decided maintainer of the Patripassian doctrines. Hippolytus confuted him in a special treatise; and the following extracts from it will shew his own opinion concerning the second and third persons of the Godhead.

40. *Hippolyti contra Noetum*, c. 7. vol. II. p. 11.

“ If Noetus remarks that our Saviour himself said, *I and the Father are one*, (John x. 30.) let him attend and observe, that he did not say, *I and the Father am one*, but *are one*. For the word *are* is not used with reference to one, but it points to two persons and one essenceⁿ. ” The reader will observe, that Hippolytus here uses the Greek term *πρόσωπον*, as Tertullian the Latin term *persona*, to imply *a person* in the modern sense of the term.

41. *Hippolyti contra Noetum*, c. 8. vol. II. p. 12.

“ He is compelled even against his will to acknowledge the Father God Almighty, and Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who is God and became man, to whom the Father subjected every thing

^m De Baptismo, c. 15. num. 106. and perhaps in *Catal. Script. Eccles.* where he calls Novatian's treatise *de Trinitate* an epitome of the work of Tertullian.

ⁿ Ἐὰν δὲ λέγει, αὐτὸς εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ

καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἓν ἔσμεν, ἐπιστανέτω τὸν νοῦν καὶ μανθανέτω, ὅτι οὐκ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν εἰμι, ἀλλὰ ἓν ἔσμεν. Τὸ γὰρ ἔσμεν οὐκ ἐφ' ἑνὸς λέγεται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δύο πρόσωπα ἔδειξεν, δύναμιν δὲ μίαν.

“ except himself and the Holy Ghost, and that these
 “ are in this manner three°. But if he wishes to
 “ know how God is proved to be one, let him under-
 “ stand that his essence is one, and as far as relates
 “ to his essence, he is one God ; but with respect to
 “ the dispensation, his manifestation is threefold P.”

42. *Hippolyti contra Noetum*, c. 12. p. 14.

The following passage is important from its mentioning the third person of the Trinity as an object of worship. “ It is thus that we contemplate the
 “ incarnate word : through him we form a concep-
 “ tion of the Father ; we believe in the Son ; we
 “ worship the Holy Ghost q.”

43. *Hippolyti contra Noetum*, c. 14. p. 15.

In order to understand the following passage, we must remember that Noetus accused the orthodox party of believing in two Gods. Hippolytus, after quoting the beginning of St. John's gospel, observes,
 “ If then *the Word is with God*, being himself God,
 “ why would any one say that this passage speaks
 “ of two gods ? I never speak of two gods, but one ;
 “ yet I speak of two persons and a third dispensa-
 “ tion r, the grace of the Holy Ghost. For the Fa-

° Καὶ τούτους εἶναι οὕτως τρία. Such is the Greek, as printed by Fabricius ; but the Latin translation, which had been published before by G. Vossius, reads, “ et hos esse vere tres,” from which I should substitute ὄντως for οὕτως. Hippolytus perhaps meant to assert, that the three persons had a real existence, and were not mere modes or operations.

P Ἀνάγκη οὖν ἔχει καὶ μὴ θέλων ὁμολογεῖν πατέρα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, καὶ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν υἱὸν Θεοῦ Θεὸν

ἄνθρωπον γεγόμενον, ὃ πάντα Πατὴρ ὑπέταξε παρεκτὸς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου, καὶ τούτους εἶναι οὕτως τρία. Εἰ δὲ βούλεται μαθεῖν, πῶς εἰς Θεὸς ἀποδείκνυται, γινωσκέτω ὅτι μία δύναμις τοῦτου, καὶ ὅσον μὲν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν, εἰς ἔστι Θεός· ὅσον δὲ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, τριχῆς ἡ ἐπίδειξις.

q Οὐκ οὖν ἔνσαρκον Λόγον θεωροῦμεν· Πατέρα δι' αὐτοῦ νοοῦμεν, υἱὸν δὲ πιστεύομεν, Πνεύματι ἀγίῳ προσκυνοῦμεν.

r Οἰκονομίαν, concerning which word I must again refer to my former work, N°. 45. p. 70.

“ther is one; but there are two persons; because
 “there is also the Son; and the third is the Holy
 “Ghost. The Father commands, the Son performs;
 “and the Son is manifested as the means of our be-
 “lieving in the Father. A dispensation of agree-
 “ment is comprehended in one God, for God is one.
 “For it is the Father who commands, the Son who
 “obeys, and the Holy Ghost who gives wisdom.
 “The Father is *above all*, the Son is *through all*,
 “and the Holy Ghost is *in all*^a. We cannot form
 “a conception of one God in any other way, unless
 “we really believe in the Father, and the Son, and
 “the Holy Ghost. For the Jews glorified the Fa-
 “ther, but did not give thanks; (see Luke xvii. 14
 “—18.) for they did not acknowledge the Son.
 “The disciples acknowledged the Son, but not in
 “the Holy Ghost: wherefore they also denied him.
 “The paternal Word therefore knowing the dispen-
 “sation and the will of the Father, that the Father
 “wished to be glorified in no other way than this,
 “commanded his disciples after his resurrection in
 “these words, *Go and teach all nations, baptizing*
 “*them in the name of the Father, and of the Son,*
 “*and of the Holy Ghost;* (Matth. xxviii. 19.) shew-
 “ing that whoever omits any one of these does not
 “perfectly glorify God. For the Father is glorified
 “by this Trinity. For the Father willed, the Son
 “executed, the Spirit manifested^t.” There may be

^a An allusion to Eph. iv. 6. See N^o. 16.

^t Εἰ δὲ οὖν ὁ Λόγος πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, Θεὸς ὢν, τί οὖν φήσκειν ἂν τις δύο λέγειν Θεοὺς; Δύο μὲν οὐκ ἔρῳ Θεοὺς ἀλλ' ἢ ἓνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίαν δὲ τρίτην, τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἀγίου

Πνεύματος. Πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ εἷς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ υἱὸς, τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Πατὴρ ἐν-τέλλεται, Λόγος ἀποτελεῖ, υἱὸς δὲ δείκνυται, δι' οὗ Πατὴρ πιστεύεται. Οἰκονομία συμφωνίας συνάγεται εἰς ἓνα Θεόν· εἷς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός. 'Ο

expressions in this passage, which might seem at first sight to support the notion of the Son and the Holy Ghost being operations of the Father; but since Hippolytus wrote this treatise purposely to confute such a notion, it is plain, that this could not have been his meaning; and Hippolytus undoubtedly believed the Son and the Holy Ghost to be distinct persons. Concerning the other expressions, in which he speaks of the second and third persons being subordinate to the first, I would refer to bishop Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith, sect. IV. The doxology with which Hippolytus concludes this treatise has been given at p. 9.

ORIGENES, A. D. 240.

44. *Origenis de Principiis*, l. I. c. 6. p. 55.

I mentioned in my former work, that Origen's treatise *De Principiis* only existed in a Latin translation made by Rufinus, and that the translator had been strongly suspected of making several alterations. On this account we cannot place much dependance upon the arguments or expressions of Origen which are taken from this book. But though Rufinus may have altered certain phrases, and introduced passages of his own, he would hardly have

γὰρ κελεύων Πατὴρ, ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων
Τῷδς, τὸ δὲ συνετίζον ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.
Ὁ ὢν Πατὴρ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ δὲ Τῷδς
διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν
πᾶσιν. Ἄλλως τε ἕνα Θεὸν νομίσαι
μὴ δυνάμεθαι, εἰ μὴ ὄντως Πατρί
καὶ Τίῳ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι πιστεύ-
σωμεν. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ ἐδόξασαν
Πατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠνέχθησαν, Τῷδν
γὰρ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν. Μαθηταὶ ἐπ-
έγνωσαν Τῷδν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν Πνεύματι
ἁγίῳ, δι' ὃ καὶ ἠρνήσαντο. Γινώσκων

οὖν ὁ πατρῷος Λόγος τὴν οἰκονομίαν
καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὅτι οὐκ
ἄλλως βούλεται δοξάζεσθαι ὁ Πατὴρ
ἢ οὕτως, ἀναστὰς παρέδωκεν τοῖς μα-
θηταῖς λέγων, Πορευθέντες μαθητεύ-
σατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες
αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα κ. τ. λ. δευκνῶν,
ὅτι πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐν τι τούτων ἐκλήπῃ,
τελείως Θεὸν οὐκ ἐδόξασεν. Διὰ γὰρ
τῆς τριάδος ταύτης Πατὴρ δοξάζεται.
Πατὴρ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν, Τῷδς ἐποίησεν,
Πνεῦμα ἐφάνερῶσεν.

given a new character to the whole tenor of any argument; and we must suppose Origen to have spoken of the nature of the Son in some such terms as those which occur in the passage now before us.

I have often alluded to the favourite illustration of the Fathers, by which they compare the generation of the Son to the effulgence proceeding from light. Origen makes use of it very frequently, as I have shewn in my former work: but in the present instance he proves how utterly inadequate every such analogy really was. "It is impossible," he says, "to compare God the Father in the generation of his only begotten Son, and in his mode of existence, to any man or other animal who begets: but there must necessarily be something special and suited to God, for which no comparison of any kind can be found, not only in existing things, but not even in thought and idea, so as for human thought to comprehend how the unbegotten God is made the Father of an only begotten Son. For the generation is eternal and everlasting, in the same manner as effulgence is generated from light. For he does not become a Son from without by spiritual adoption, but is Son by nature^u." Origen then confirms this by passages of scripture, such as Heb. i. 3: but he dwells particularly on Col. i. 15, where the Son is called *the image of the invisible God*. He considers in what sense the term *image* can be applied to the Son of

^u — sed ne in cogitatione quidem vel sensu inveniri potest, ut humana cogitatio possit apprehendere quomodo ingenuus Deus Pater efficitur unigeniti Filii. Est namque ita

æterna ac sempiterna generatio, sicut splendor generatur ex luce. Non enim per adoptionem spiritus Filius fit extrinsecus, sed natura Filius est. c. 4.

God: and having observed, that every son may be called the image of his father who begat him, he says, that in this sense the Son of God may be *the image of God*: “which image contains the unity “of nature and substance of the Father and Son^x.” If we could be certain, that these were the genuine words of Origen, we have here direct proof of his believing the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son: and the passage might be added to the others which I have noticed in my former work, N^o. 305, where I have shewn that the term ὁμοούσιος, *of one substance*, was not unknown to the Ante-Nicene fathers. As I observed above, something of this kind must have been said by Origen, though his words may have been altered by Rufinus. He believed Christ to be strictly and literally *the begotten Son of God*: and I have shewn in the Introduction to this work, that such a notion leads us necessarily to the doctrine of the Trinity.

Other passages, which assert the same doctrine, may be found in the following places of the treatise *De Principiis*, lib. I. c. 6. §. 4. p. 71. lib. III. c. 5. §. 8. p. 151. lib. IV. §. 37. p. 195. and the personality and divinity of the Holy Ghost are asserted with equal plainness in the following places: lib. I. præf. §. 4. p. 48. c. 1. §. 3. p. 50. c. 3. §. 3. p. 61. and the last passage is so strongly worded, that the translator would hardly have ventured to introduce it, if it had not existed in the original: “Up to the “present time I have not been able to find any expressions in the scriptures, by which the Holy “Ghost could be said to be made or created^y.”

^x Quæ imago etiam naturæ continet unitatem.
ac substantiæ Patris et Filii ^y Usque ad præsens nullum

45. *Origenis c. Celsum* l. VIII. §. 12. vol. I. p. 750.

The following passage was partly adduced in my former work, N^o. 261, where I observed, that the term *hypostasis* was used in Origen's time to express individual existence, i. e. personality. It also remarkably confirms the fact of Christ being worshipped. Celsus had said of the Christians, "If they worshipped no other being but one God, their argument against other persons would perhaps have weight: but now they pay the highest worship to this person who appeared so lately, and yet they think that they commit no offence against God, although his servant is worshipped by them^z." To this Origen replies, "If Celsus had considered the words, *I and the Father are one*, (John x. 30,) and those spoken by the Son of God in his prayer, *as I and thou are one*^a, (xvii. 22,) he would not have thought, that we worship any one else beside the supreme God: for he says, *the Father is in me, and I in the Father*, (xiv. 11: xvii. 21.) But if any one be inclined to fear from this, that I am going over to those who deny the Father and Son to be two persons, let him observe that expression, *And of them that believed there was one heart and one soul*, (Acts iv. 32,) that he may understand that other, *I and the Father are one*. We therefore worship one God, as I have proved, the Father and the Son; and our argument against other persons continues

sermonem in scriptis sanctis invenire potuimus, per quem Spiritus Sanctus factura esse vel creatura diceretur.

^z Nunì δὲ τὸν ἑναγχὸς φανέντα τοῦτον ὑπερβησκέουσιν, καὶ ὁμῶς οὐ-

δὲν πλημμελεῖν νομίζουσι περὶ τὸν Θεόν, εἰ καὶ ὑπηρέτης αὐτοῦ θεραπευθήσεται.

^a 'Ὡς ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἓν ἑσμεν. Origen quoted from memory. The words are, καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἓν ἑσμεν.

“ valid : and we do not pay the highest worship to
 “ him who appeared so lately, as to a person who
 “ had no previous existence ; for we believe him
 “ when he says himself, *Before Abraham was, I*
 “ *am*, (John viii. 58 ;) and when he says, *I am the*
 “ *Truth*, (xiv. 6 :) and none of us are so stupid as
 “ to imagine, that the substance of truth^b had no
 “ existence before the times of the coming of Christ.
 “ We therefore worship the Father of Truth, and
 “ the Son who is Truth, two in person, [or, in the
 “ mode of existence,] but one in unanimity, and
 “ agreement, and identity of will ; so that he, who
 “ has seen the Son, *the brightness of the glory, and*
 “ *the express image of the substance, of God*, (Heb.
 “ i. 3,) has seen in him the very image of God, God
 “ himself^c.” Origen saw the necessity and the dif-
 ficulty of steering between tritheism and Sabellian-
 ism : but this passage, even if it stood alone, would
 be sufficient to acquit him of either. That he wor-
 shipped the Son as God, is here expressly asserted :

^b Ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐσία. Ori-
 gen probably meant, *substantial*
Truth, or *Truth personified*, i. e.
 Christ. See my former work,
 No. 100.

^c Εἴπερ νοεῖται ὁ Κέλσος τὸ, Ἐγὼ
 καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν, καὶ τὸ ἐν
 εὐχῇ κ. τ. λ. οὐκ ἂν φέτο ἡμᾶς καὶ
 ἄλλων θεραπεύειν παρὰ τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι
 Θεόν. Ὁ γὰρ Πατὴρ, φησὶν, ἐν ἐμοὶ,
 καὶ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ. Εἰ δέ τις ἐκ
 τούτων περισπασθήσεται, μὴ πη αὐ-
 τομολοῦμεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀναιροῦντας δύο
 εἶναι ὑποστάσεις Πατέρα καὶ Υἱόν,
 ἐπιστησάτω τῷ, Ἦν δὲ πάντων κ. τ. λ.
 ἵνα θεωρήσῃ τὸ, Ἐγὼ κ. τ. λ. Ἐνα
 οὖν Θεόν, ὡς ἀποδεδώκαμεν, τὸν Πα-
 τέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, θεραπεύομεν. καὶ

μένει ἡμῖν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτενὴς
 λόγος· καὶ οὐ τὸν ἑναγχός γε φα-
 νέντα, ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ὄντα, ὑπερ-
 θρησκεύομεν· αὐτῷ γὰρ πειθόμεθα τῷ
 εἰπόντι κ. τ. λ. καὶ οὐχ οὕτω τις
 ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἀνδράποδος, ὡς οἶσθαι
 ὅτι ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας οὐσία πρὸ τῶν
 χρόνων τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιφανείας
 οὐκ ἦν. Θρησκεύομεν οὖν τὸν Πατέρα
 τῆς Ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τὴν Ἀλή-
 θειαν, ὄντα δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγ-
 ματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁμοσίᾳ, καὶ τῇ συμ-
 φωνίᾳ, καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλή-
 ματος· ὡς τὸν ἑωρακότα τὸν Υἱὸν
 ὄντα ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης, καὶ χα-
 ρακτῆρα τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ,
 ἑωρακέναι ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅντι εἰκόνη τοῦ
 Θεοῦ, τὸν Θεόν.

he also as plainly declares, that he did not worship two Gods: and though what he says of *the unity of agreement* might appear, if taken by itself, to favour Sabellianism, it will be observed, that he speaks of the Father and the Son being two in *hypostasis*, which can only mean, *in person or individuality of existence*. It is important also to remember, that Origen took an active part in the controversy excited by Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia; and it was principally owing to his arguments, that Beryllus recanted his errors. Eusebius, who relates this circumstance, represents Beryllus as maintaining, “that our Lord and Saviour had no preexistence in individual distinctness of being, before his appearance in the world; and that he had no distinct divinity, but only that of his Father residing in himself^d.” This was nothing else than the doctrine, which was taught by Sabellius a few years later: and since Origen succeeded in making Beryllus abjure this error, his own orthodoxy and anti-Sabellian sentiments cannot be called in question.

I would again refer the reader to my former work, N^o. 261, note ^b, where instances are given of Origen’s use of the term *hypostasis*: and I would add the following passage, in which he uses another analogy for the unity of the two persons. Upon those words in Genesis xi. 1, *And the whole earth was one lip, and all had one speech*, he observes, “To those who do not understand the expression, *I and the Father are one*, (John x. 30,) and therefore deny the distinct personality of the Son, I

^d Τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ Κύριον ἡμῶν μὴ προϋφιστάναί κατ’ ἰδίαν οὐσίας περιγραφὴν, πρὸ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδη-

μίας· μηδὲ μὴν θεότητα ἰδίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ἐμπολυτευομένην αὐτῷ μόνῃ τῇ Πατρικῇ. H. E. VI. 33.

“ would quote this passage, *And the whole earth was one lip, and all had one speech*^e.” Origen evidently meant to adduce this analogy, as shewing that unity may be predicated of persons who have a distinct existence. He did not mean to say, that the particular kind of unity was the same in both cases: but he argued, that unity may exist between persons who are individually distinct.

46. *Origenis in Genesim Hom. XVII. §. 5. vol. II. p. 108.*

I have mentioned at p. 39, that Origen's Homilies upon Genesis only exist in the Latin translation of Rufinus, which cannot be depended upon for accuracy. I have therefore only given references to several places where the word *Trinitas* occurs; and all of which, if literally translated, would demonstrate Origen's belief of a Trinity in unity. The following passage is taken from the same Latin version; and the reader will wonder at the length to which the allegorical interpretation of scripture was carried. But this very circumstance inclines me to think that the passage is genuine, and not an addition of Rufinus; for Origen's propensity to this method of interpretation is too well known: and, as I observed in N^o. 44. though Rufinus may have altered the language, yet the turn of thought, and the tenor of the argument, must have proceeded from the original author. He is commenting upon that part of the prophecy of Jacob which relates to Judah: *Judah is a lion's whelp—who shall raise him up?* (Gen. xlix. 9.) and after saying, that a

^e Τοῖς μὴ νοοῦσι τὸ, Ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ οἶσομεν τὸ, Ἦν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ χεῖλος Πατὴρ ἓν ἐσμεν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀρ- ἓν, καὶ φωνὴ μία πᾶσι. In Gen. νοούμενοις ὑπὸ στασιν ῥίαν Τίῳ, προσ- vol. II. p. 34.

mystical exposition is most suited to the place, and that *the lion's whelp* signifies Christ, he proceeds to interpret his being *raised up* of his rising from the dead. He quotes Rom. viii. 11. as shewing that *God* raised him up; and again, his own words in John ii. 19—21. as speaking of *himself* raising up his own body. Origen then observes, “Because he “says that he himself raises up his own temple, and “God is said to have raised him up, the prophet “rightly says, as if struck with awe at such unity “and indivisibility of Father and Son, *Who shall “raise him up*^f?” It is unnecessary to disclaim any agreement with such fanciful expositions of scripture: and I merely quote the passage, as shewing how strongly the doctrine of the Trinity must have been impressed upon the mind of a writer who introduced it upon such an occasion as this.

The Homilies upon Exodus also furnish many remarkable testimonies to the doctrine of the Trinity; but the same doubt exists as to their genuineness, which attaches to the Homilies upon Genesis; for Rufinus expressly mentions, that he had made some additions in his Latin translation of them. I shall therefore only give references to the passages. Hom. V. §. 3. p. 145; Hom. VI. §. 5. p. 148; Hom. VIII. §. 4. p. 158.

The same may be said of the Homilies upon Leviticus. See Hom. XII. §. 3. p. 251; Hom. XIII. §. 4. p. 256; and upon Numbers, Hom. XII. §. 1. p. 313.

^f Quia ergo et ipse se dicit suscitare templum suum, et Deus illum dicitur suscitasse, recte propheta stupore tantæ Patris et Filii unitatis atque indiscretionis attonitus ait, *Quis suscitabit eum*?

47. *Origenis in Psalm. XVIII. 6. vol. II. p. 614.*

The following passage may be of use as shewing the interpretation affixed by Origen to certain passages of scripture. The words of the Psalm are, as translated by the LXX. *In the sun hath he set his tabernacle*; upon which Origen observes, “Our Lord is *the sun of righteousness*, and the Father dwelleth in him, according to the words, *I am in the Father, and the Father in me*: (John xiv. 10.) and again, *The Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works*: (ib.) and the apostle says, *God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself*, (2 Cor. v. 19.⁸)”

48. *Origenis in Psalm. CXXII. 2. vol. II. p. 821.*

Origen gives the following fanciful interpretation of those words, *As the eyes of servants look upon the hand of their masters, &c.* “The servants of their masters, the Father and the Son, are the body and spirit; and the handmaid of her mistress, the Holy Ghost, is the soul; and the three are the Lord our God; for the three are one^h.” This passage has been advanced in support of the notion, that the disputed text in 1 John v. 7. is genuine, and was read by Origen in his copies of the New Testament. Though this inference will not perhaps be generally allowed, there can be no question as to the writer of this sentence having held the doctrine of the Trinity.

49. *Origenis in Jerem. Homil. XVIII. 9. vol. III. p. 251.*

The Septuagint version of Jeremiah xviii. 14. is

⁸ Ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐστίν, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ κατασκηνοῖ ὁ Πατήρ, κατὰ τὸ κ. τ. λ.

^h Δούλοι κυρίων, Πατὴρ καὶ Τίϋ,

Πνεῦμα καὶ σῶμα· παιδίσκη δὲ Κυρίας, τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἡ ψυχὴ. Τὰ δὲ τρία Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐστίν· οἱ γὰρ τρεῖς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.

very different from the Hebrew. It begins thus ; *Will breasts fail from the rock?* i. e. will the rock cease to pour out water? and this mention of *water* leads Origen to quote Psalm xlii. 2. *My soul thirsteth for the living God*: upon which he asks, "Who hath thus thirsted for the breasts of the rock? *but the rock was Christ.* (1 Cor. x. 4.) Who hath thus thirsted for the Holy Ghost, so as to say, *Like as the hart panteth after the fountains of water, so panteth my soul after thee, O God?* (Psalm xlii. 1.) Unless we thirst for the three fountains of water, we shall find no fountain of water. The Jews seem to have thirsted for one fountain of water, which was God: but since they did not thirst for Christ and the Holy Ghost, they are not able to drink even of God. The heretics seem to have thirsted for Christ Jesus; but since they have not thirsted for the Father, who is the God of the Law and the Prophets, for this reason they do not drink even of Jesus Christ. They also, who keep to one God, but set at nought the prophecies, have not thirsted for the Holy Ghost that is in the prophecies. For this reason they do not drink even of the fountain of the Father, nor of Him who cried in the temple and said, *If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink*ⁱ.

ⁱ Τίς οὕτως ἐδίψησε Θεόν, ὥστ' ἂν εἰπεῖν, Ἐδίψησεν, κ. τ. λ.; Τίς οὕτως ἐδίψησε τοὺς μαστοὺς τῆς πέτρας; Ἡ πέτρα δὲ ἦν ὁ Χριστός. Τίς οὕτως ἐδίψησεν ἀγίου Πνεύματος, ὥστ' ἂν εἰπεῖν, Ὅν τρόπον κ. τ. λ.; Ἐὰν μὴ τὰς τρεῖς πηγὰς τῶν ὑδάτων διψήσωμεν, οὐδεμίαν πηγὴν τῶν ὑδάτων εὐρήσωμεν. Ἐδοξάν δεδιψηκέναι μίας πηγῆς τῶν ὑδάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἰου-

δαίοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐδίψησαν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, οὐκ ἔχουσι πιεῖν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἐδοξάν δεδιψηκέναι οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἵρέσεων Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδίψησαν τὸν Πατέρα, ὅντα νόμου καὶ προφητῶν Θεόν, διὰ τοῦτο οὐ πίνουσιν οὐδὲ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Οἱ δὲ ἕνα μὲν τηροῦντες Θεόν, ἐξουθενοῦντες δὲ τὰς προφητείας, οὐκ ἐδίψησαν τὸ

“(John vii. 37.)” It is plain that the three fountains of water are the three persons of the Trinity; and that Origen considered a belief in each of them to be indispensable.

50. *Origenis in Ezech. Homil. IV. §. 5. p. 372.*

“When you belong to Christ, you will belong also to the Almighty Father; for they are one and of an united nature^k.” These homilies upon Ezekiel are preserved only in the Latin version of Jerom; but he speaks of having translated them faithfully, and I therefore quote from them this very strong expression, which has a close agreement with the following.

51. *Origenis in Matthæum, tom. XIII. §. 19. vol. III. p. 597.*

Upon those words of our Saviour, *Whosoever shall receive this child in my name, receiveth me*, Luke ix. 48. Origen immediately adds, “Then, since the Father is inseparable from the Son, He is with the person who receives the Son^l.”

52. *Origenis in Matthæum, tom. XVII. §. 14. vol. III. p. 789.*

I have shewn in N^o. 45. that Origen’s belief concerning our Saviour was decidedly opposed to Sabellianism. The following passage will prove the point still farther. Having observed that the multitude, who looked upon Jesus as a prophet, (Matt. xxi. 46.) did not rightly or perfectly understand him, he continues, “We must not think that those are *for him* who have false conceptions concern-

Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐ πίνονται οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς τῆς πατρικῆς, οὐδὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεκραγότες κ. τ. λ.

^k Cum fueris Christi, eris et

omnipotentis Patris, quia unum sunt unitæque naturæ.

^l Εἴτ’ ἐπεὶ ἀχώριστός ἐστι τοῦ Τίου ὁ Πατήρ, γίνεται παρὰ τῷ δεξαμένῳ τὸν Τίον.

H

“ing him ; such as those who confound the idea of
“Father and Son, fancying the Father and Son to
“be one in person^m, distinguishing the one subject
“in conception only and in the namesⁿ.”

53. *Origenis in Lucam Hom. XXV. vol. III.*

p. 962.

Origen's homilies upon St. Luke exist only in a Latin translation, which was made by Jerom: but there is every reason to think that he translated them literally: and the following passage shews very plainly what was Origen's opinion concerning the third person of the Trinity. It is also curious, as presenting an instance of that wild and irrational method of interpretation which was pursued by the Gnostics. “Others, when they read, *I will send you a Comforter, the Spirit of Truth*, (John xiv. 16.) do not understand a person who is third after the Father and the Son, and a divine and sublime nature, but the apostle Paul^o.”

54. *Origenis in Joannem*, tom. II. §. 6. vol. IV.

p. 60.

I have had occasion to observe, that the sentiments of Origen concerning the Trinity have furnished matter for much discussion among ancient and modern writers; and that he has been charged with using expressions concerning the Son and the Holy Ghost which are inconsistent with the orthodox notion of their divinity. I have ventured, in

^m ὁποσάσει. See my former work, No. 261.

ⁿ Οὐ νομιστέον γὰρ εἶναι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς τὰ ψεύδη φρονούντας περὶ αὐτοῦ· ὅποιοί εἰσιν οἱ συγχέοντες Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ ἔννοιαν, καὶ τῇ ὑποστάσει ἓνα διδόντες εἶναι τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ μόνῃ καὶ τοῖς

ὀνόμασι διαιροῦντες τὸ ἐν ὑποκείμενον.

^o Alii legentes, *Mittam vobis Advocatum Spiritum veritatis*, nolunt intelligere tertiam personam a Patre et Filio, et divinam sublimemque naturam, sed apostolum Paulum.

concurrence with bishop Bull, to question the justice of the attacks which have been made upon Origen on these points: and the following is perhaps one of the passages, in which he has been suspected of lowering the third person in the Trinity to the rank of a created being. He is commenting upon those words at the beginning of St. John's Gospel, *All things were made by him*, (i. 3.) and he allows himself to enter into a discussion which might well have been avoided.

“ If it is true, that *all things were made by him*,
 “ we must inquire whether the Holy Ghost was
 “ made by him: for as it seems to me, if a person
 “ says that the Holy Ghost was made, and if he
 “ grants that all things were made by the Logos, he
 “ must necessarily admit that the Holy Ghost was
 “ also made by the Logos, the latter preceding him
 “ in order of time. But if a person does not choose
 “ to say that the Holy Ghost was made by Christ,
 “ it follows that he must call him unproduced, if
 “ he thinks that this passage in the Gospel is true.
 “ But there may be also a third opinion, beside that
 “ of admitting that the Holy Ghost was made by
 “ the Logos, and that of supposing him to be un-
 “ created^p, namely, the notion of there being no
 “ substantial individual existence of the Holy Ghost
 “ distinct from the Father and the Son^q.—We,
 “ however, being persuaded that there are three hy-

^p The word here is ἀγέννητον, though a few lines above it is ἀγέννητος: and since Origen was in each case noticing the same opinion, we might have expected him to use the same terms. The evidence of MSS. is very

little in these cases, and I should be inclined to read ἀγέννητον in both places. In the translation I have followed the Benedictine edition.

^q This is clearly the Sabellian doctrine.

“ postases, [persons,] the Father, the Son, and the
 “ Holy Ghost, and believing that nothing is unpro-
 “ duced beside the Father, adopt this as the more
 “ pious and the true opinion, that all things being
 “ made by the Logos, the Holy Ghost is more
 “ honourable than all of them, and more so in rank
 “ than all the things which were made by the Fa-
 “ ther through Christ. And perhaps this is the
 “ reason why he is not also called the very Son of
 “ God, there being only one who by nature and
 “ origin is Son, viz. the only-begotten, who seems
 “ to have been necessary to the Holy Ghost, and to
 “ have assisted in forming his hypostasis, not only
 “ that he might exist, but also that he might have
 “ wisdom, and reason, and righteousness, and what-
 “ ever else we suppose him to have, according to his
 “ participation in those qualities which we have
 “ before mentioned as attributed to Christ.”

Ἐξεταστέον δὲ ἀληθοῦς ὄντος
 τοῦ, Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, εἰ καὶ
 τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο.
 Οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι τῷ μὲν φάσκοντι γενη-
 τὸν αὐτὸ εἶναι, καὶ προἰεμένῳ τὸ,
 Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, ἀναγκαῖον
 παραδέξασθαι ὅτι τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα
 διὰ τοῦ Λόγου ἐγένετο, πρεσβυτέρου
 παρ' αὐτὸ τοῦ Λόγου τυγχάνοντος. Τῷ
 δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα
 διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γεγονέναι, ἔπεται τὸ
 ἀγέννητον αὐτὸ λέγειν, ἀληθῆ τὰ ἐν
 τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦτ' εἶναι κρίνοντι.
 Ἔσται δὲ τις καὶ τρίτος παρὰ τοὺς
 δύο, τὸν τε διὰ τοῦ Λόγου παραδεχό-
 μενον τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον γεγονέναι,
 καὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον αὐτὸν εἶναι ὑπολαμ-
 βάνοντα, δογματίζων μηδὲ οὐσίαν
 τινὰ ἰδίαν ὑφιστάναι τοῦ ἁγίου
 Πνεύματος ἐτέραν παρὰ τὸν Πατέρα
 καὶ τὸν Υἱόν. — — — — — Ἡμεῖς μέντοι γε

τρῆς ὑποστάσεις πειθόμενοι τυγχά-
 νειν, τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ
 τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀγέννητον μη-
 δὲν ἕτερον τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι πιστεύ-
 οντες, ὡς εὐσεβέστερον καὶ ἀληθές,
 προσιέμεθα τὸ, πάντων διὰ τοῦ Λό-
 γου γενομένων, τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα πάν-
 των εἶναι τιμιώτερον, καὶ τάξει πάν-
 των τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ
 γεγενημένων. Καὶ τάχα αὕτη ἐστὶν
 ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ καὶ αὐτοῦν χρημα-
 τίζειν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μόνου τοῦ Μονογε-
 νοῦς φύσει Υἱοῦ ἀρρῆθην τυγχάνοντος,
 οὗ χρῆζειν ὅσκιε τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα,
 διακονοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποστάσει, οὐ
 μόνον εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὸν
 εἶναι καὶ λογικόν, καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ
 πᾶν ὅτιποτ' αὐτὸ νοεῖν τυγχά-
 νειν, κατὰ μετοχὴν τῶν προειρημένων
 ἡμῖν Χριστοῦ ἐπινοῶν.

Such is this extraordinary, and I must add, unfortunate, passage of Origen, which I have quoted at length, and have endeavoured to translate with the utmost fairness. If the reader should decide from it, that Origen did not believe the eternity of the Holy Ghost, he will think that the enemies of Origen were not without grounds when they questioned his orthodoxy. It is not my intention entirely to exculpate him. He is at least guilty of indiscretion in entering upon such perilous ground, and in speculating so deeply upon points, which after all must elude the grasp of human ideas and phraseology. But the testimony of Origen, even in this passage, is not without its value in the controversies which have arisen concerning the third person in the Trinity. In the first place, he distinctly notices the Sabellian hypothesis, and as distinctly declares that he did not maintain it. He held that there are three *hypostases* in the Trinity: which expression, as I have already explained it, can only mean that there are three *persons*. Secondly, he says that the relation between the Father and the Holy Ghost is such, that it would scarcely be improper to call the Holy Ghost the *Son* of the Father. He gives a reason why such a term is not applied; but he would never have said this, if he had believed the Holy Ghost, in the common sense of the term, to be *a creature*. Thirdly, what he says of nothing being *unproduced* (ἀγένητον) except the Father, is strictly orthodox, and has always been the doctrine of the catholic church. The Son and the Holy Ghost have always been said to be derived from the Father; the one by generation, the other by procession: neither of them is self-existent,

and therefore neither of them is unproduced: but this doctrine was never considered to be incompatible with the eternity of the Son or the Holy Ghost^s. Origen seems to have considered himself bound by those words of St. John, *All things were made by him*, to include the Holy Ghost among the things which were made by Christ: and it was this which led him into his dangerous speculation. But the word which we translate, *were made*, does not necessarily imply *creation* in the ordinary sense of the term: it means, *were called into existence*: and though Origen undoubtedly understood from this passage, that the world was created by Christ, yet he makes an express distinction between the Holy Ghost and the works of creation. It appears from this passage, that he would have said of the Holy Ghost, ἐγένετο διὰ Χριστοῦ: and the western church never held any other doctrine, than that the Holy Ghost proceeded *from* the Father *by* the Son. Whether this was the notion which Origen meant to express, I would leave to others to decide. His words are certainly not opposed to it: and though I would again repeat my regret that he entered into such speculations, I must add, that neither Sabellians, Arians, nor Socinians can claim the authority of Origen as supporting their tenets. If he erred, it was a peculiar error of his own: and I would caution the reader not to draw his inference from this particular passage, till he has compared it with the other extracts from works of the same writer.

If we could be certain, that Origen's commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans was faithfully translated by Rufinus, the following passage might

^s See Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* Sect. iv.

be quoted as shewing his sentiments concerning the eternity of the Holy Ghost: but for the reasons alleged in my former work, I do not bring any separate testimony from this treatise. I can hardly, however, imagine that Rufinus inserted the whole of the following passage, or that the substance of it at least was not to be found in the original work of Origen. "I know that some persons misunderstanding *the newness of the Spirit*, (Rom. vii. 6.) "have perverted it, to prove that the Spirit is something new, as not having existed before, and not known in ancient times: in which they are not aware that, they are guilty of very grievous blasphemy. For this very Spirit is in the Law, he is in the Gospel, he is always with the Father and the Son, he always is, and was, and will be, as the Father and the Son^t."

55. *Origenis in Joannem*, tom. X. §. 21. vol. IV. p. 199.

The sentiments of Origen concerning the Sabellian hypothesis are expressed with equal plainness in the present quotation. "But since some persons are perplexed when they come to the question of the Father and the Son, adducing this passage, *We are found false witnesses of God, because we have testified of God, that he raised up Christ, whom he raised not up*, &c. (1 Cor. xv. 15.) and other similar passages, which prove that he who raised was different from him who was raised ;

^t *Novitatem sane spiritus scio quosdam male intelligentes illuc traxisse, ut dicerent novum esse Spiritum, tanquam qui ante non fuerit, nec veteribus innotuerit: et nesciunt se in hoc gravissime*

blasphemare. Ipse enim Spiritus est in lege, ipse in Evangelio, ipse semper cum Patre et Filio est, et semper est et erat et erit, sicut Pater et Filius. VI. 7. p. 580.

“ and this, *Destroy this temple, and in three days*
 “ *I will raise it up*; (John ii. 19.) from which they
 “ think to prove, that the Son does not differ nume-
 “ rically^u [personally] from the Father; but that
 “ both being one, not only in essence, but also in
 “ subject, are called Father and Son, according to
 “ certain different ideas, but not in person; we must
 “ quote against them, in the first place, the passages
 “ which preeminently prove the Son to be different
 “ from the Father^x.”

56. *Origenis in Joannem*, tom. XIX. §. 1. vol. IV.
 p. 282.

“ I must observe, that our Saviour sometimes
 “ speaks of himself as if he was speaking of a man,
 “ and sometimes as if of a nature which is more
 “ divine, and united to the unbegotten nature of the
 “ Father^y.”

57. *Origenis in Joannem*, tom. XX. §. 16. p. 330.

Origen compares the declaration of our Saviour,
I proceeded forth and came from God, (John viii.
 42.) with that passage in Micah, (i. 3.) *Behold the*
Lord cometh forth out of his place: and though we
 may not agree with him in seeing a resemblance be-
 tween the two passages, we cannot mistake his sen-
 timents concerning the unity of the Father and the
 Son. “ When the Son is in the Father, *being in*

^u Ἀριθμῶ. See N^o. 5. p. 24.

^x Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ συγγεόμενοι ἐν τῇ
 περὶ Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ τῷ τῷ, συνά-
 γοντες τὸ, Εὐρισκόμεθα κ. τ. λ. καὶ
 τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια δηλοῦντα ἕτερον εἶ-
 ναι τὸν ἐγεύραντα παρὰ τὸν ἐγγηγε-
 μένον, καὶ τὸ, Λύσατε κ. τ. λ. οἶον
 τὸ [οἶονται] ἐκ τούτων παρίστασθαι
 μὴ διαφέρειν τῇ ἀριθμῶ τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ
 Πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐν, οὐ μόνον οὐσίᾳ,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποκειμένῳ τυγχάνοντας

ἀμφοτέρους, κατὰ τινὰς ἐπινοίας δια-
 φόρους, οὐ κατὰ ὑπόστασιν λέγεσθαι
 Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν, λεκτέον πρὸς αὐ-
 τοὺς πρῶτον μὲν τὰ προηγουμένως
 κατασκευαστικά ῥήματα τοῦ ἕτερον εἶ-
 ναι τὸν Υἱὸν παρὰ τὸν Πατέρα.

^y Λεκτέον δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ὅτι ὁ
 σωτὴρ ὅτε μὲν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ὡς περὶ
 ἀνθρώπου διωλέγεται, ὅτε δὲ ὡς περὶ
 θειοτέρας φύσεως, καὶ ἡνωμένης τῇ
 ἀγεννήτῳ τοῦ Πατρὸς φύσει.

“ *the form of God*, before *he lowered himself*, God
“ is as it were his *place*: and if any one thinks of
“ him, who, before *he humbled himself*, was *in the*
“ *preeminent form of God*, he will see his Son, who
“ had not as yet *come forth from God*, and the
“ Lord, who had not yet *come forth out of his place*.
“ But when with this condition of the Son he com-
“ pares that which results from his *taking the form*
“ *of a servant* by *humbling* himself, he will under-
“ stand how the Son of God *proceeded forth and*
“ *came to us*, and became as it were out of him who
“ sent him, though in another sense the Father did
“ not leave him alone, but is with him, and is in the
“ Son, as he also is in the Father. And unless you
“ understand in another sense, that the Son is in
“ the Father, as he was before he came forth from
“ God, there will seem to be a contradiction between
“ his *coming forth from God*, and the person who
“ came forth from God being still in God. Others
“ have explained the words *I proceeded forth from*
“ *God*, as *I was begotten by God*, who go on to
“ say that the Son was begotten of the substance of
“ the Father; as if the Father had his substance
“ lessened and made deficient by the substance of
“ his Son, which he had before——. These per-
“ sons also say, that the Father and the Son are
“ corporeal, and that the Father is divided, which
“ are the notions of men who have not the most
“ distant conception of an invisible and incorporeal
“ nature, which is properly his substance. It is
“ plain also, that they ascribe bodily place to the
“ Father, and suppose the Son to have come bodily
“ upon earth by changing from one place to another,
“ and do not look upon it as a change merely from

“one condition to another, as we understand it.”^z This remarkable passage may be added to the many which were quoted in my former work, N^o. 70. concerning the meaning of St. Paul in Phil. ii. 5—11. It removes all doubt as to Origen believing in the preexistence of Christ, and shews that he believed him in that previous state to have been united to God.

It has been argued from this passage^a, that Origen did not believe the Son to be of the same substance with the Father, because he condemns the opinion of those “who said that the Son was begotten of the substance of the Father.” But this is entirely to mistake the meaning of Origen, who only condemned those persons who supposed the substance of God to be diminished by the substance

^z “Οτε ὁ Υἱὸς ἐν τῇ Πατρὶ ἔστιν, ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, πρὶν ἑαυτὸν κενῶσαι, οἷονεὶ τύπος αὐτοῦ ἔστιν ὁ Θεός· καὶ εἰ τίς γε νοῆσαι τὸν πρὸ τοῦ κενῶσαι ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ προηγουμένη ὑπάρχοντα Θεοῦ μορφῇ, ὥσπετα τὸν μηδέπω ἐξεληλυθότα ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Κύριον τὸν μηδέπω ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ τόπου ἑαυτοῦ. Ἐπὰν δὲ ἐκείνη τῇ καταστάσει τοῦ Υἱοῦ συγκρίνῃ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνείληφέναι τὴν τοῦ δούλου μορφήν ἑαυτὸν κενώσαντα, συνήσει πῶς ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἦκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ οἷονεὶ ἔξω γεγέννηται τοῦ πέμψαντος αὐτόν· εἰ καὶ κατ’ ἄλλον τρόπον οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν μόνον ὁ Πατήρ, ἀλλὰ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἔστι, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Τίτῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Πατρὶ. Καὶ εἰ μὴ κατ’ ἄλλον γε τρόπον νοήσαις εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν ἐν τῇ Πατρὶ, ὡς ἦν πρὶν ἐξέλθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, δόξει περιέχειν μάχην τὸ καὶ ἐξεληλυθέναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἶναι τὸν ἐξεληλυθότα ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἔτι ἐν τῇ Θεῷ.”

“Ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ, Ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, διηγήσαντο ἀντὶ τοῦ, Γεγέννημαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οἷς ἀκολουθεῖ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας φάσκειν τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Υἱὸν, οἷονεὶ μειουμένου καὶ λείποντος τῆ οὐσίᾳ, ἢ πρότερον εἶχε, τοῦ Υἱοῦ.— Ἀκολουθεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ σῶμα λέγειν τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ διηγήσθαι τὸν Πατέρα, ὅπερ ἔστι δόγματα ἀνθρώπων, μὴδ’ ὅναρ φύσιν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀσώματον πεφαντασμένον, ὅσων κυρίως οὐσίαν οὔτοι δὲ δῆλον ὅτι ἐν σωματικῷ τόπῳ δώσουσι τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν τόπον ἐκ τόπου ἀμείψαντα σωματικῶς ἐπιδεδημηκέναι τῇ βίῃ, καὶ οὐχὶ κατὰστασιν ἐκ καταστάσεως, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐξειλήφαμεν. Compare Origen de Princip. l. iv. c. ult. §. 28. p. 189. as quoted in my former work, N^o. 178.

^a Jackson, in his Dissertation, prefixed to his edition of Novatian, p. xlix.

of the Son being taken from it. The proofs of Origen believing in the consubstantiality of the Father and Son will be found in N^o. 44.

With respect to Origen's commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, since it only exists in the translation of Rufinus, which can be proved to be by no means literal, I shall only give references to the following places, where some strong expressions will be found in support of the doctrine of the Trinity. Lib. I. §. 16. p. 472. Lib. III. §. 8. p. 514. Lib. IV. §. 9. p. 540. ib. §. 10. Lib. VIII. §. 5. p. 626. But Basil has preserved a fragment of the original Greek, in which Origen expressly speaks of "the divinity of the Holy Spirit ^b."

CYPRIANUS, A. D. 250.

58. *Cypriani Epist. LXXIII.* p. 131.

I observed, in N^o. 39, that the word *Trinitas* is often applied by Tertullian to the three persons of the Godhead. Cyprian, who was bishop of the church, to which Tertullian belonged, used it in the same sense, as may be seen in the following passage. "When the Lord sent forth his disciples after his resurrection, he instructed and taught them how they were to baptize, saying, *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth: go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* (Matt. xxviii. 18.) He implies a Trinity, "by the mystery of which all nations were baptized ^c." We find the same sentiment repeated,

^b De Spiritu S. c. 29. Αἱ ἱεραὶ τῆτος.

δυνάμεις χωρητικαὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος θεό-

^c Dominus post resurrectionem discipulos suos mittens

and the same use of the word *Trinitas*, in another part of this epistle. “ When after the resurrection “ the apostles are sent by the Lord to all nations, “ they are commanded to baptize them in the name “ of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy “ Ghost. How then do some say, that a Gentile “ who is baptized out of the church, and even con- “ trary to the church, provided it be done in the “ name of Jesus Christ, any where and in any man- “ ner, can obtain remission of sins, when Christ “ himself orders all nations to be baptized in the “ full and united Trinity^d?”

59. *Cypriani Epist.* LXXIII. p. 133.

Cyprian, as is well known, was inclined not to allow the validity of baptism administered by heretics: and the opinion of the early church concerning baptism, as well as concerning the Trinity, may be illustrated by the following passage. He asks, “ If they are not in the church, and what is more, “ if they act contrary to the church, how can they “ baptize with the baptism of the church? For it “ is no small and trifling concession which is made “ to heretics by our admitting their baptisms, since “ from thence begins the source of all faith, the “ saving entrance to the hope of eternal life, and “ acceptance with God for His servants who are to “ be purified and made alive. For if a person may “ be baptized by heretics, he may therefore, obtain “ remission of sins. If he obtains remission of sins, “ he is also sanctified, and made the temple of God.

quemadmodum baptizare debe-
rent instruxit et docuit, dicens,
Data est mihi &c. Insinuat
Trinitatem, cujus sacramento

gentes baptizarentur.

^d — quando ipse Christus
gentes baptizari jubeat in plena
et adunata Trinitate, p. 135.

“ If he is sanctified and made the temple of God, I ask, of what God? If you say, of the Creator, I say that he cannot, because he does not believe in him. If you say, of Christ, I say that neither can he, who denies Christ to be God, be made the temple of Christ. If you say, of the Holy Ghost, since the three are one, I ask, how can the Holy Ghost be reconciled to him, who is at enmity either with the Son or the Father^e?” It is plain, that Cyprian was speaking of the Gnostic heretics, who made the supreme God, and the creator of the world, to be two different beings: but the passage is most valuable, as shewing that Cyprian considered the name of God to apply to the Son and the Holy Ghost, as much as to the Father.

The words, “ cum tres unum sint,” *since the three are one*, have also been quoted as one of the proofs, that 1 John v. 7. was found in the copies of the New Testament used by Cyprian: but the strongest passage in favour of that text is in the treatise *de unitate ecclesiæ*, where after making several observations in support of unity, he adds, “ The Lord says, *I and the Father are one*: (John x. 30.) and again “ it is written of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, *And these three are one*^f.” It certainly appears from this passage, that Cyprian meant to quote the words, “ et hi tres unum sunt,”

^e Si sanctificatus est, si templum Dei factus est, quæro, cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit, quia in eum non credidit. Si Christi, nec hujus fieri potuit templum, qui negat Deum Christum. Si Spiritus Sancti, cum tres unum sint, quomodo

Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Filii aut Patris inimicus est?

^f Et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, Et hi tres unum sunt. Page 195—6.

as *written* somewhere or other in the New Testament: and it is not denied by any person, that these words, or others equivalent to them, are written in 1 John v. 8: the question is, whether they are also written in 1 John v. 7. Those, who oppose the genuineness of the seventh verse, contend, that Cyprian meant to allude to the eighth verse; and that following the figurative interpretation, which was used by many of the fathers, he chose to say of the eighth verse, that *it is written*, i. e. it is to be interpreted, *of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*. Facundus, a bishop of the African church in the 6th century, appears to have understood Cyprian in this way. He writes as follows: “The apostle John in his Epistle writes thus of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, *There are three that bear witness on earth, the spirit, the water, and the blood; and these three are one; by the spirit signifying the Father, by the water the Holy Ghost, and by the blood the Son*. Which testimony of the apostle John, Cyprian, in an epistle or book, which he wrote concerning the Trinity, understands to have been said of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost: for he says &c. &c.” and then he quotes the very words of Cyprian in this passage.

I would observe upon this quotation from Facun-

§ Defens. I. 3. Joannes Apostolus in epistola sua de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto sic dicit, *Tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et sanguis, et hi tres unum sunt*: in spiritu significans Patrem — in aqua vero Spiritum Sanctum significans, — in

sanguine vero Filium significans. — Quod tamen Joannis Apostoli testimonium B. Cyprianus Carthaginensis antistes et martyr in epistola, sive libro, quem de Trinitate scripsit, de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto dictum intelligit. Ait enim, “Dominus &c.”

dus, that two things are undeniable: 1. that Facundus himself interpreted *the spirit, the water, and the blood*, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and that he does not quote the seventh verse, but only the eighth. 2. That he also understood Cyprian to have given the same figurative interpretation to the three witnesses mentioned in the eighth verse. It will perhaps be observed, that Facundus quotes Cyprian's Epistle or Book *de Trinitate*, whereas the words cited above are taken from the treatise *de Unitate Ecclesiæ*. But this does not really make any difference: for the words quoted by Facundus are precisely the same which are read in the treatise *de Unitate Ecclesiæ*: and though we might think, that Cyprian inserted the same passage in two different works, still Facundus would have made the same remark upon each of them, and would have said, that Cyprian gave a figurative interpretation to the eighth verse. The question to be decided is, whether Facundus was right in this representation of Cyprian's meaning; i. e. whether Cyprian, when he said, "et iterum de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, *Et hi tres unum sunt*," meant to say, that what we read of *the spirit, the water, and the blood*, is written and is to be understood of *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*. If we adopt this notion, the testimony of Cyprian is to be withdrawn from the number of those writers, who support the genuineness of the text: and it cannot be denied, that many of the fathers were fond of giving an allegorical meaning to the three witnesses mentioned in the eighth verse. It has been said in answer to this, that the custom of allegorizing this passage did not exist so early

as the time of Cyprian : but whoever will refer to Origen's Eighth Homily on Leviticus, §. 10 and 11, will find him alluding to *the mystery* of the water and blood, and quoting St. John as saying in his epistle, " that *purification* is made in the water and " the blood and the spirit ^h:" after which he proceeds to other allegories upon the number *three*, and concludes with saying, " So that in every instance we are to understand that *purification* can " not be made without the *mystery* of the Trinity ⁱ." This seems to leave no doubt, that Origen saw the mystery of the Trinity in the spirit, the water, and the blood : but if the Trinity had actually been mentioned in the verse preceding, it is hardly possible that Origen would not have quoted it, or would have been contented with proving the mystery by inference and allegory.

I have no inclination to dwell longer upon this disputed passage ; and my subject does not require me to do so, except so far as the testimonies of the fathers are concerned. But having been led to consider the internal evidence in my Bampton Lectures ^k, I would only observe, that the external evidence is capable of being summed up in a few words. There are only four Greek MSS. in existence which are known to contain the text : 1. Codex Ravii, which is at Berlin, and which has been proved to be a transcript of the Complutensian Polyglot ^l.

^h Quod Joannes ponit in epistola sua, et dicit purificationem fieri in aqua, et sanguine et spiritu. Vol. II. p. 234.

ⁱ Ut ubique intelligamus purificationem fieri non posse sine mysterio Trinitatis, p. 235.

^k Note 85. p. 522.

^l See La Croze, *Thes. Epist.* Vol. III. p. 2. and particularly Untersuchung der Ravischen Griechischen Handschrift des Neuen Testaments, von G. G. Pappelbaum. Berlin 1785.

2. Codex Guelpherbytanus D. (N^o. 131 of Michaelis.) One of the MSS. preserved at Wolfenbützel; but it is acknowledged to have been written in the seventeenth century, and is therefore deserving of no notice. 3. Codex Montfortianus, now at Dublin, the date of which has been controverted; but it is generally placed in the fifteenth century, if not still later. 4. Codex Ottobonianus, in the Vatican, which has only been collated lately at the suggestion of the bishop of Salisbury, through whose kindness I have received a facsimile of the disputed passage. There are therefore only two MSS. which in a critical point of view can be said to contain the text: and it is remarkable, that neither of these MSS. have furnished the text of our modern printed editions: and what is still more striking, *the text, as it now stands, is not to be found in any MS. whatever.* The latter fact will appear still plainer, if the evidence is also summed up concerning the printed editions.

The earliest edition of the Greek Testament, which contains the text, is in the Complutensian Polyglot, which seems to have been printed in 1514, but was not published till 1520 or 1522. In the interval between these periods, Erasmus published his first edition of the Greek Testament, in 1516; but it did not contain the disputed verse: neither did his second edition, which appeared in 1519: but in 1522 he put out a third edition, in which the seventh verse is inserted upon the authority of a "Codex Britannicus," which is generally conceived to be the Codex Montfortianus; for the text, as printed by Erasmus, agrees exactly with the latter MS. but the text of the Complutensian edition is different;

and neither of them agrees with the text of our modern printed editions. Erasmus altered the text in his subsequent editions, by prefixing the article respectively to the three words, *πατήρ*, *λόγος*, and *πνεῦμα*, though neither of the two existing MSS. contains this addition. Robert Stephens also in 1546 printed the text, as it stood in the later editions of Erasmus, making only the slight variation of ἅγιον πνεῦμα for πνεῦμα ἅγιον, though the latter, it will be observed, is the reading of both the existing MSS. The edition of R. Stephens has formed the basis of all subsequent editions; and the disputed passage, as it now stands, follows the reading of Stephens.

The substance of what has been said will appear plainer by the following table, which contains the readings of the two MSS. Montfortianus and Ottonianus; together with those of the Complutensian edition, the fifth edition of Erasmus, and that of R. Stephens, which last may be called the *textus receptus*: but since all these authorities agree in the first words of the seventh verse, ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, they may be omitted in this comparative view.

Codex Montfortianus. Erasmus ed. tertia.	Codex Ottonianus.	Ed. Complut.	Erasmus ed. quinta.	Ed. R. Stephani. Textus receptus.
ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ	ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ	ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ	ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ	ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ
πατήρ	πατήρ	ὁ πατήρ	ὁ πατήρ	ὁ πατήρ
λόγος	λόγος	καὶ ὁ λόγος	ὁ λόγος	ὁ λόγος
καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον	καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον	καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα	καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἅγιον	καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα
καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς	καὶ οἱ τρεῖς	καὶ οἱ τρεῖς	καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς	καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς
ἐν εἰσι	εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσι	εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσι	ἐν εἰσι	ἐν εἰσι

My subject, as I have already stated, did not require me to enter into this detail: and after the

volumes which have been written upon this controversy, it may appear presumptuous to sum it up in so few words: but having expressed my opinion as not favourable to the genuineness of the text, I wished to explain to the reader the real state of the critical part of the question. It is of course a suspicious circumstance, that so short a passage should contain so many various readings: and it will be observed, that the newly collated MS., the Codex Ottobonianus, presents an entirely new reading, ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and in the eighth verse ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. But without pressing this point, the opponents of the text have a right to call upon the defenders of it, to say what it is, which they mean to defend. They cannot defend it, as it stands in the two existing MSS., for these two documents differ materially from each other, and one or both of them differ from the *textus receptus* in every clause. If we are called upon to defend the *textus receptus*, I answer, that it is not to be found in any existing MS., and we are defending the words, not of an inspired apostle, but of a printer, who lived at Paris in the sixteenth century.

60. *Cypriani Testim.* lib. III. c. 101. p. 327.

Whatever may be thought of Cyprian's judgment in the interpretation of scripture, there can be no doubt as to his opinion of the Holy Ghost, when he makes the title or subject of this chapter, "That the Holy Ghost frequently appeared in fire," and brings the following passages in proof of it: "In Exodus, (xix. 18,) *And mount Sina was altogether on a smoke, because God descended upon it in fire.* Also in the Acts of the Apostles, (ii. 2,) *And suddenly there came a sound &c.* Also when-

“ ever God accepted sacrifices, fire came down from
 “ heaven, which consumed the offerings. In Exo-
 “ dus, (iii. 2,) *The Angel of the Lord appeared in*
“ a flame of fire out of a bush ^m.”

NOVATIANUS, A. D. 257.

In my former work I quoted several passages from Novatian's treatise *de Trinitate*, all of which support the doctrine of Christ's divinity, and consequently (as is stated in the Introduction) the doctrine of the Trinity also. The title of this treatise might be sufficient to persuade us, that the author of it believed in the Trinity: and some of the extracts might perhaps have been more properly reserved for the present work: but having already made use of them with reference to the second person of the Trinity, I shall not repeat them here, and shall only adduce a few more, which have a more immediate connection with the Trinitarian controversy.

61. *Novatiani de Trinitate*, c. 12. p. 714.

Having quoted Isaiah xxxv. 3—6, which speaks of *God coming*, and having applied the passage to the coming of Christ, he continues, “ If the prophet
 “ says that these will be the signs at the coming of
 “ God, let them either acknowledge Christ to be the
 “ Son of God, at whose coming, and by whom, these
 “ signs of miraculous cures were made; or, being
 “ overpowered by the truth of Christ's divinity, let

^m Spiritum Sanctum in igne frequenter apparuisse. In Exodo, *Et mons Sina fumabat totus, quoniam descenderat Deus in eum in igne.* Item in Actibus Apostolorum, *Et factus est sub-*

ito &c. Item in sacrificiis quæcunque accepta habebat Deus, descendeat ignis de cælo, qui sacrificata consumeret. In Exodo, *In flamma ignis apparuit Angelus Domini de rubo.*

“ them fall into the other heresy, and refusing to
 “ confess Christ as the Son of God, and God, let
 “ them confess him to be the Father. For they
 “ cannot escape from the words of the prophets, and
 “ cannot refuse to call Christ God ⁿ.” Shortly after
 he says more plainly, “ Whom do they mean is
 “ come? If they say that Almighty God the Fa-
 “ ther is come, then God the Father comes from a
 “ particular place, from which he is therefore ex-
 “ cluded, and is confined within the limits of a par-
 “ ticular spot; and thus, as I said before, the sacri-
 “ legious heresy of Sabellius is confirmed by these
 “ persons ^o.” Again at the end of the chapter, “ Let
 “ them then choose out of the two which they please,
 “ that he, who *is come*, is the Son or the Father:
 “ for *God* is said *to have come*. If they say, the
 “ Son, why do they hesitate to call Christ God?
 “ For the scripture says that it was God who was
 “ to come. If they say it was the Father, why do
 “ they hesitate to join themselves to the rashness of
 “ Sabellius, who calls Christ the Father? except
 “ that whether they say it was the Father or the
 “ Son, they will be compelled, however unwillingly,
 “ to depart from their own heresy, having been ac-
 “ customed to call Christ a mere man, and now

ⁿ Si in adventu Dei dicit prophetae hæc futura signa quæ facta sunt, aut Dei Filium agnoscant Christum, in cujus adventu et a quo hæc sanitatum signa facta sunt; aut divinitatis Christi veritate superati, in alteram hæresim ruentes, Christum dum Filium Dei et Deum confiteri nolunt, Patrem illum esse confitebuntur. Vocibus enim

prophetarum inclusi jam Christum Deum negare non possunt.

^o Quem volunt isti venire? Si venisse aiunt Omnipotentem Deum Patrem, ergo de loco Deus Pater venit, ex quo etiam loco cluditur, et intra sedis aliqujus angustias continetur; et jam per istos, ut diximus, Sabelliana hæresis sacrilega corporatur.

“ being compelled to put him forward as God, whether they choose to call him the Father or the Son ^p.”

Whatever we may think of such texts as Isaiah xxxv. 4. Habaccuc iii. 3, &c. being applied to Christ, the fact of Novatian's own belief is not affected by these interpretations. We may ascertain his own tenets, by observing the tenets which he refutes: and nothing can be plainer, than that he first opposes the notion of Christ being a mere man; and then argues, that the maintainer of this heresy will be compelled to run into Sabellianism. Sabellius had risen into notice in Novatian's own time; and we here see the manner in which this hypothesis was spoken of by a contemporary writer of the Roman church.

62. *Novatiani de Trinitate*, c. 21. p. 720.

The same argument against Sabellius is continued in the present quotation. “ But because Christ is proved by the authority of holy scripture to be not only man, but God, other heretics^q break forth, and try to shake the character of Christ's religion, wishing to shew by this very argument that Christ is God the Father, since he is asserted to be not

^p Eligant ergo ex duobus quid velint, hunc qui ab Africo venit, Filium esse an Patrem: Deus enim dicitur ab Africo venturus. Si Filium, quid dubitant Christum et Deum dicere? Deum enim scriptura dicit esse venturum. Si Patrem, quid dubitant cum Sabellii temeritate misceri, qui Christum Patrem dicit? nisi quoniam sive illum Patrem sive Filium dixerint, ab hæresi sua, inviti licet, desciscant necesse

est, qui Christum hominem tantummodo solent dicere: dum illum rebus ipsis coacti Deum incipiunt promere, sive dum illum Patrem sive dum illum Filium voluerint nuncupare.

^q In the interval between the last quotation and the present, he had been refuting the heretics, who considered Christ to be a mere man, and he now returns to the Sabellians.

“ only man, but also God. For they argue thus :
 “ If it be allowed that there is only one God, but
 “ Christ is God ; therefore if the Father and Christ
 “ is one God, Christ must be said to be the Father.
 “ In which argument they are convicted of error,
 “ because they do not know Christ, but merely re-
 “ cognise the sound of the word : for they refuse to
 “ acknowledge him as the second person after the
 “ Father, but as the Father himself. To whom I
 “ shall say but a few words, because the answer is
 “ easy. For who would not acknowledge that there
 “ is a second person of the Son after the Father,
 “ when he reads of the Father saying to the Son,
 “ *Let us make man &c.*^r” He then quotes several
 passages, which prove the Son to be a distinct per-
 son, and continues, “ It would be too long, if I
 “ should try to bring together all passages bearing
 “ upon this point, since not only the Old but the
 “ New Testament every where proves him to have
 “ been born of the Father, *by whom all things were*
 “ *made, and without whom was nothing made ;* who
 “ always has been and is obedient to the Father,
 “ having always power over all things, but a power

^r Sed ex hac occasione, quia Christus non homo tantum, sed et Deus, divinarum literarum sacris auctoritatibus approbatur, alij hæretici erumpentes statum in Christo religionis concutere machinantur, hoc ipso Patrem Deum volentes ostendere Christum esse, dum non homo tantum asseritur, sed et Deus promitur. Sic enim, inquiunt, si unus esse Deus promitur, Christus autem Deus ; ergo, inquiunt, si Pater et

Christus est unus Deus, Christus Pater dicetur. In quo errare probantur Christum non noscentes, sed sonum nominis approbantes : nolunt enim illum secundam esse personam post Patrem, sed ipsum Patrem. Quibus quia facile respondetur, pauca dicentur. Quis enim non secundam Filii post Patrem agnoscat esse personam, cum legat dictum a Patre consequenter ad Filium, *Faciamus &c.*

“ which is delivered, which is granted, which is bestowed upon him by his own Father^s.” I would only observe upon this passage, that it fully confirms what is said in N^o. 33. of the use of the word *persona*.

63. *Novatiani de Trinitate*, c. 22. p. 720.

“ But because they often bring against us that passage, in which it is said, *I and the Father are one*, (John x. 30,) we shall with equal ease refute them also in this. For if Christ were the Father, as these heretics imagine, he ought to have said, *I the Father am one*. But when he first says *I*, and then introduces the Father, by saying *I and the Father*, he separates and distinguishes his own peculiar personality (i. e. the Son's) from the authority of the Father, not only as to the sound of the word, but as to the order and arrangement of power; when, if he had been conscious that he was himself the Father, he might have said, *I the Father*. And since he said one thing, (*unum*,) let the heretics understand that he did not say one person, (*unus*.) For *one*, in the neuter, signifies harmony of agreement, not unity in person. — Then he goes on to say, *we are*, not *I am*, that by these words, *I and the Father are*, he might shew that there are two persons: but when he says *one thing*, (*unum*,) it relates to agreement and identity of opinion and union of affection, so

^s Et satis longum facio, si enisus fuero omnes omnino ad hanc partem voces congregare, quandoquidem non tam veteris quam etiam novi testamenti scriptura divina ubique ostendat illum ex Patre natum, per

quem facta &c. qui obedierit semper Patri et obediat, semper habentem rerum omnium potestatem, sed qua traditam, sed qua concessam, sed qua a Patre proprio sibi indultam.

“ that the Father and Son are properly one thing
 “ (*unum*) by agreement, and by love, and by affection^t.

I have already considered more than once those words of our Saviour, *I and my Father are one*: and I am at present only concerned with the sense in which they were understood by the fathers. That Novatian did not extract from them the Sabellian notion of unity is demonstrable: and if he should seem to speak of an unity of counsel and will, rather than of nature or essence, we may compare the above passage with what he says of the same text in another place. “ If Christ be merely a
 “ man, what is that which he says, *I and the Father are one*? For how can this be, if the Son as
 “ well is not also God, who may be said to be *one*
 “ with the Father, since he is from him, and is his
 “ Son, and is born of him, and is proved to have
 “ proceeded from him, in which way also he is
 “ God^u?” Novatian therefore considered the divi-

^t Sed quia frequenter intendunt illum nobis locum quod dictum sit, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*, et in hoc illos æque facile vincemus. Si enim erat, ut hæretici putant, Pater Christus, oportuit dicere, *Ego Pater unus sum*. At cum *ego* dicit, deinde Patrem infert, dicendo, *Ego et Pater*, proprietatem personæ suæ, id est Filii, a paterna auctoritate discernit atque distinguit, non tantummodo de sono nominis, sed etiam de ordine dispositæ potestatis: qui potuisset dicere, *Ego Pater*, si Patrem se esse meminisset. Et quia dixit *unum*, intelligant hæretici, quia non dixit *unus*. U-

num enim neutraliter positum societatis concordiam non unitatem personæ sonat.—Denique adjicit dicens, *sumus*, non *sum*, ut ostenderet per hoc quod dixit, *sumus ego et Pater*, duas esse personas: *unum* autem quod ait, ad concordiam et eandem sententiam et ad ipsam charitatis societatem pertinet, ut merito *unum* sit Pater et Filius per concordiam et per amorem et per dilectionem.

^u Si homo tantummodo Christus, quid est quod ait, *Ego et Pater unum sumus*? Quomodo enim *Ego et Pater unum sumus*, si non et Deus est et Filius? qui idcirco *unum* potest dici

nity of Christ to be a natural consequence of his being the begotten Son of God: and at the end of the treatise he points out the opposite errors of Sabellianism and Unitarianism in the following remarkable words. “As well they who say that Jesus Christ is God the Father, as they who consider him to be a mere man, draw this hasty conclusion as the origin and cause of their error and perverseness. Perceiving it to be written that *there is one God*, they think that they cannot hold that opinion in any other way, except by believing Christ to be either a mere man, or God the Father.—“In fact, our Lord is as it were crucified between two thieves, in the same manner that he was once nailed to the cross, and thus receives on each side the sacrilegious reproaches of those heretics^x.” He then proceeds to explain his own opinion, that there is one God, and yet that Christ is God: and having said, “there is proved to be one true and eternal God, the Father,” he adds, “from whom alone this divine power is sent forth, and being delivered to the Son is again by communion of substance brought back to the Father:” where

dum ex ipso est, et dum Filius ejus est, et dum ex ipso nascitur, et dum ex ipso processisse reperitur, per quod et Deus est. c. 23. p. 722.

^x Tam enim illi, qui Jesum Christum ipsum Deum Patrem dicunt, quam etiam illi qui hominem illum tantummodo esse voluerunt, erroris sui et perversitatis origines et causas inde rapuerunt; quia cum animadverterent scriptum esse quod *unus sit Deus*, non aliter putaverunt istam tenere se posse

sententiam, nisi aut hominem tantum Christum, aut certe Deum Patrem putarent esse credendum.—Revera quasi inter duos latrones crucifigitur Dominus, quo modo fixus aliquando est, et ita excipit hæreticorum istorum ex utroque latere sacrilega convitia. c. 30. p. 728.

^y A quo solo hæc vis divinitatis emissæ, etiam in Filium tradita et directæ, rursum per substantiæ communionem ad Patrem revolvitur. c. 31. p. 730.

the words *communion of substance* can hardly be explained in any other way, except as maintaining the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son.

DIONYSIUS ALEXANDRINUS, A. D. 260.

64. *Dionysii ex Elencho et Apologia*, p. 93.

In my former work I have given an account of the treatise written by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, in defence of his own opinions. Having illustrated the generation of the Son by the common, though inadequate, analogy of a word proceeding from the mind, he says of the Father and the Son, "The former, who sent him forth, continued and is what he was before: and the latter, who was sent forth, proceeded from him, and goeth every where; and thus each is in each, though each is different from the other, and though two, yet they are one: for thus it was said that the Father and the Son are one and in each other^z."

65. *Dionysii ex Elencho et Apologia*, p. 93.

Dionysius had been accused of separating the Son from the Father, and of speaking of the one, as having no relation or connection with the other: to which he replies; "Each of the two names, which I have used, is inseparable and indivisible from the other. Thus if I mentioned the Father, by implication I also mentioned the Son in the Father, even before I introduced his name: or if I introduced the name of the Son, even if I had not mentioned the Father before, He would certainly

^z Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔμεινε προπέμψας, καὶ ἔστιν ὅς ἦν ὁ δὲ ἐξέπτη προπεμψθεὶς, καὶ φέρεται πανταχοῦ. καὶ οὕτως ἐστὶν ἑκάτερος ἐν ἑκατέρῳ, ἕτερος ὡς θατέρου καὶ ἐν εἰσιν, ὅν-

τες δύο· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς ἐν καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐλέχθησαν εἶναι. Athanas. *de Sent. Dionys.* 23. p. 259.

“ have had his name anticipated in that of the Son:
 “ or if I added the Holy Ghost, at the same time I
 “ subjoined from whence and by whom he came.
 “ But these persons are not aware, that the Father,
 “ in his relation of Father, is not separated from
 “ the Son; for the name implies union. Nor is the
 “ Son removed from the Father; for the name of
 “ Father signifies community. In their hands also
 “ is the Spirit, which can neither be separated from
 “ the person sending, nor from the person convey-
 “ ing it. How then, while I make use of these
 “ names, can I conceive that these are divided and
 “ altogether distinct from each other ^a?”

Athanasius, who has preserved all these fragments, represents Dionysius as saying shortly after,
 “ Thus we expand the unity into the indivisible
 “ Trinity; and again we sum up the undiminished
 “ Trinity in the unity ^b.”

66. *Dionysii ex Elencho et Apologia*, p. 98.

The two following fragments of the same work are preserved by Basil. In the first of them it is necessary to remember, that the term *ὑπόστασις*, *hypostasis*, was sometimes used for the *nature* or *es-*

^a Τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεχθέντων ὀνομάτων ἕκαστον ἀχώριστόν ἐστι καὶ ἀδι-
 αίρετον τοῦ πλησίον. Πατέρα εἶπον
 καὶ πρὶν ἐπαγάγω τὸν Υἱόν, ἐσήμανα
 καὶ τοῦτον ἐν τῇ Πατρὶ. Υἱὸν ἐπή-
 γαγον' εἰ καὶ μὴ προεῖρήκειν τὸν Πα-
 τέρα, πάντως ἂν ἐν τῇ Τίφ προεί-
 ληπτο. Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα προσέθηκα,
 ἀλλ' ἅμα καὶ πόθεν καὶ διὰ τίνος
 ἦκεν ἐφήρμοσα. Οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἴσασι,
 ὅτι μὴτε ἀπηλλοτριώται Πατὴρ Υἱοῦ
 ἢ Πατὴρ· προκαταρκτικὸν γάρ ἐστι
 τῆς συναφείας τὸ ὄνομα· οὔτε ὁ Υἱὸς
 ἀπῆκίσταται τοῦ Πατρός. Ἡ γὰρ

Πατὴρ προσηγορία δηλοῖ τὴν κοινω-
 νίαν· ἐν τε ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἐστι
 τὸ Πνεῦμα, μήτε τοῦ πέμποντος,
 μήτε τοῦ φέροντος δυνάμενον στέ-
 ρεσθαι. Πῶς οὖν ὁ τοῦτοις χρώμενος
 τοῖς ὀνόμασι, μεμερίσθαι ταῦτα καὶ
 ἀφωρίσθαι παντελῶς ἀλλήλων οἶο-
 μαι; Athanas. l. c. 17. p. 254.

^b Οὕτω μὲν ἡμεῖς εἰς τε τὴν
 Τριάδα τὴν μονάδα πλατύνομεν ἀδι-
 αίρετον, καὶ τὴν Τριάδα πάλιν ἀμεί-
 ωτον εἰς τὴν μονάδα συγκεφαλαιού-
 μεθα.

sence of the Deity ; sometimes for *a person*, i. e. for the substantial individuality of the three persons in the Godhead^c. The Sabellians declined saying, in the latter sense of the term, that there were three *hypostases* ; and wished to argue, that such an expression implied three distinct, unconnected Beings. Dionysius observes, “ Though they may say, that “ the hypostases, by being three, are divided, still “ they are three, though it may not suit these persons to say so : or else let them altogether deny “ the divine Trinity^d.” We may infer from this remark, that the word *Trinity* was in common use before the Sabellian controversy began : and Dionysius assumes it as an undisputed point, that in some sense or other there was a Trinity in the Godhead. The Sabellians probably denied, that the word *τριάς* implied three *ὑποστάσεις*, or distinctly existing persons : but the history of Dionysius and his writings leaves no doubt as to the body of believers maintaining this opinion.

67. *Dionysii ex Elencho et Apologia*, p. 99.

The following fragment would have been more intelligible, if the context had also been preserved ; but the expressions, which have already been quoted from this writer, might prepare us for his saying, “ For this reason there is also, after the unity, the “ most divine Trinity^e.”

68. *Dionysii contra Paul. Samos. Quæst.* IV.
p. 230.

“ When the Lamb was led, *as a sheep to the slaughter*, the Father was not separated from his

^c See my former work, N^o. 261. *τρεῖς εἰσι, καὶ μὴ θέλωσιν ἢ τὴν θεῖαν Τριάδα παντελῶς ἀνελέτωσαν.*

^d Εἰ τῷ τρεῖς εἶναι τὰς ὑποστάσεις, μεμερισμένας εἶναι λέγουσι, ^e Θεωτάτη γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ τὴν μονάδα καὶ ἡ Τριάς.

“ Word of the same species with himself: the two
 “ persons are inseparable, as also the substantially
 “ existing Spirit of the Father, which was in the
 “ Son: for it was made manifest to all, that he was
 “ in him, and came upon him in the form of a
 “ dove; and the same, the Comforter, the Holy
 “ Ghost, participated in his suffering ^f.”

69. *Dionysii Alex. contra Paul. Samos. Quæst. IV.*
 p. 232.

It is difficult to translate every word of the following passage, but the meaning of the whole cannot be mistaken. Christ is apparently speaking of himself, and says, “ I am he that exists personally
 “ and for ever, that is equal to the Father in the
 “ unalterable nature of the essence, coeternal also
 “ with the Spirit which is the Lord, to which when
 “ Ananias and Sapphira lied, because they did not
 “ lie to man, but to God, they died: for the Paraclete is God, in the same sense as the Father of
 “ Christ, coeternal with Christ ^g.”

We have the same expression of the Spirit being *coeternal* with Christ, αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸ συναΐδιον Πνεῦμα, at p. 236. I may also refer the reader to my former work, p. 128, 401, 404, 409, (second edition,) in which there are strong assertions of a belief in the Trinity, as held by Dionysius.

^f Ὁ Πατὴρ, ἀγομένου τοῦ ἀμνοῦ, ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν, οὐκ ἐχωρίσθη τοῦ ὁμοειδοῦς αὐτοῦ Λόγου· αἱ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἀχώριστοι, καὶ τὸ ἐνυπόστατον τοῦ Πατρὸς Πνεῦμα, ὃ ἦν ἐν τῷ Τίῳ. Πεφανέρωται γὰρ πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ ἦλθεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς· καὶ αὐτὸς κεκοινώθηκε τῷ πάθει, ὃ Παράκλητος, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον.

^g Ὁ ἐνυπόστατος αἰεὶ ὢν Χριστὸς, ὁ ἴσος τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον τῆς ὑποστάσεως ὢν, συναΐδιος καὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ Πνεύματι, ὅπερ ψευδόμενος Ἀνανίας καὶ Σάπφειρα, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ψευδόμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεὸν, ἐξέψυξαν· Θεὸς γὰρ ὁ Παράκλητος, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συναΐδιος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

70. *Dionysii contra Paul. Samos. Quæst. VI.*
p. 245.

Dionysius alludes to the words of St. Paul in 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11; but his manner of quoting and commenting upon them affords a remarkable proof of his believing the second and third persons of the Trinity to be intimately united with the first and with each other. “It searcheth the heart and reins, “*because the Spirit, as God, knows even the deep things of God: as also no one knows the deep things of man, except the spirit of man which is in him.* Here St. Paul evidently tells us, that the “Holy Spirit alone knows the Father of the incarnate Word; and the Holy Spirit knows Jesus Christ, the incarnate Word, because he is in Christ. For it is written, *The Father who abideth in Christ the Word, he doeth the works,* “as also doth Christ who is in his Father. (John xiv. 10.) The Holy Ghost knoweth how the Father containeth the Son, and the Son the Father^h.”

DIONYSIUS ROMANUS, A. D. 260.

The words of Dionysius, bishop of Rome, are, if possible, still more express in favour of the Trinity, than those of his namesake of Alexandria. Only a small portion of his treatise against Sabellius has been preserved by Athanasius, from which I ex-

^h Ἐτάζει καρδίας καὶ νεφρούς, ὅτι καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὡς Θεός, τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐπίσταται. ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐδεὶς ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ. Ἐνταῦθα φανερώς διδάσκει ὁ ἱερός Παῦλος, ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον μόνον αὐτὸ οἶδε τὸν Πατέρα τοῦ ἀνθρωπισθέντος Λόγου καὶ τὸν ἀνθρω-

πισθέντα Χριστὸν, τὸν Λόγον Ἰησοῦν, οἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐστίν· ὅτι φησιν, Ὁ Πατὴρ ὁ μένων ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ Λόγῳ, αὐτὸς ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα, ὡς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. Οἶδε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, πῶς ὁ Πατὴρ χωρεῖ τὸν Υἱόν, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς τὸν Πατέρα.

tracted so much in my former work, as related particularly to the divinity of the Son. The following quotation, which immediately precedes the other, defines the catholic doctrine of the Trinity with as much precision as Athanasius himself could have used. "It would be right for me to address myself next to those who divide and separate and destroy the holiest doctrine of the church of God, the unity, into three essences and divided existences and three Godheads. For I hear that there are some among your teachers and preachers of the word, who countenance this notion; who are opposed, as I may say, diametrically to the opinion of Sabellius. For the blasphemy of the latter consists in his saying, that the Son is himself the Father, and *vice versa*: but these others preach in a manner three Gods, dividing the holy unity into three existences, foreign from each other, and altogether separate: whereas the divine Word must be united with the God of the universe; and the Holy Ghost must reciprocally pass into and dwell in God: in short the divine Trinity must be summed up and brought together into one, as a head, I mean the almighty God of the universeⁱ." Then, after condemning the heresy of

ⁱ Ἐξῆς δ' ἂν εἰκότως λέγοιμι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαιροῦντας καὶ κατατέμνοντας καὶ ἀναίρουντας τὸ σεμνότατον κήρυγμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὴν μοναρχίαν, εἰς τρεῖς δυνάμεις τινὰς καὶ μεμερισμένας ὑποστάσεις καὶ θεότητας τρεῖς. Πέπυσμαι γὰρ εἶναι τινὰς τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν κατηχούντων καὶ διδασκόντων τὸν θεῖον λόγον, ταύτης ὑφηγητάς τῆς φρονήσεως· οἱ κατὰ διάμετρον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀντίκεινται τῇ Σαβελλίου γνώμῃ. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ

βλασφημεῖ, αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰῶν εἶναι λέγων τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἔμπαλιν· οἱ δὲ τρεῖς Θεοὺς τρόπον τινα κηρύττουσιν, εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ξένας ἀλλήλων, παντάπασιν κεχωρισμέναι, διαιροῦντες τὴν ἁγίαν μονάδα. Ἡνώσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὅλων τὸν θεῖον λόγον· ἐμφιλοχαρεῖν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ ἐνδαιτυᾶσθαι δεῖ τὸ "Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα" ἤδη καὶ τὴν θεῖαν Τριάδα εἰς ἓνα, ὥσπερ εἰς κορυφὴν τινα (τὸν Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων τὸν παντοκράτορα λέγω)

Marcion, and the notion of Christ being a creature, he continues, "We must therefore neither divide " the wonderful and divine unity into three God- " heads; nor destroy the dignity and exceeding " greatness of the Lord by making him a creature : " but we must believe in God the Father Almighty, " and in Christ Jesus his Son, and in the Holy " Ghost; and that the Word is united with the " God of the universe: for *I*, he says, *and the Fa- " ther are one*: (John x. 30.) and *I am in the Fa- " ther, and the Father in me*: (xiv. 10.) for thus " both the divine Trinity, and the holy doctrine of " the unity, will be preserved ^k."

This remarkable passage may illustrate the different meanings, which were affixed to the word *ὑπόστασις* by ecclesiastical writers: and some persons have attempted to prove, that Dionysius of Rome differed from his namesake of Alexandria in this particular, and consequently in his notion of the Trinity. But no attempt could be more unsuccessful. Dionysius of Alexandria certainly maintained that there were three *ὑποστάσεις* in the Godhead; by which, as I have already explained, he meant that there were three persons, i. e. three distinct individualities, in the Godhead: and he maintained this against the Sabellians. Dionysius of Rome was

συγκεφαλαιουσθαί τε καὶ συνάγε-
σθαι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη. Athanas. de
Decret. Syn. Nic. c. 26. p. 231.
et apud Routh Reliq. Sacr. vol.
III. p. 179.

^k Οὐτ' οὖν καταμερίζειν χρὴ εἰς
τρεῖς θεότητας τὴν θανμαστὴν καὶ
θείαν μονάδα· οὔτε ποιήσει κωλύειν
τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγε-
θος τοῦ Κυρίου· ἀλλὰ πεπιστευκέναι,

εἰς Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, καὶ
εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν Υἱὸν αὐτοῦ,
καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. ἡνωσθαι
δὲ τῷ Θεῷ τῶν ὄλων τὸν Λόγον·
Ἐγὼ γάρ, φησι, καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ἐν
ἑσμεν· καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ ὁ
Πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἡ
θεία Τριάς, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον κήρυγμα
τῆς μοναρχίας διασώζοιτο. Ib. p.
182.

equally opposed to the doctrine of Sabellius, who denied the personality of the Son and Holy Ghost : but he also opposed the notion of there being three distinct, independent ὑποστάσεις in the Godhead : and in this he would have had the full concurrence of his namesake of Alexandria ; as may be seen in all the passages, which I have adduced from his writings. It is sometimes said, that Dionysius of Alexandria used the term ὑπόστασις for *person*, while Dionysius of Rome used it for *substance* or *essence*, in which sense it was undoubtedly used by later writers ; but in the age of these two bishops the term was always used for substantial or individual existence, in other words, for personality ; and I conceive, that Dionysius of Rome meant to employ it in this sense. He only wished to guard against the notion of these three ὑποστάσεις, or 'persons,' being separate from, and independent of, each other. In order to convey his idea of the intimate union between the three persons, he makes use of the remarkable word ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν, which it is almost impossible to translate, but which I have attempted to express by *reciprocally passing into*. In the fourth century, this doctrine of mutual inhabitation or permeation was expressed by the Greek term περιχώρησις, and by the Latin *circumincessio* or *circuminessio* ; (for it is written both ways :) and Bellarmin has explained the meaning of it in a few words, "illam intimam et perfectam inhabitationem unius personæ in alia¹." A fuller definition of it is given by Genebrardus, who says, "Περιχώρησις et circuminessio illa dici potest unio, qua unum existit in

¹ De Christo II. 5. Op. vol. I. p. 383.

“ alio, non tantum per naturæ participationem, sed
 “ etiam per plenam et intimam præsentiam. Hoc
 “ inexistentiæ, ut sic dicam, genus nostri *circum-*
 “ *cessionem* appellant; quia per illud aliqua, quan-
 “ tumvis a se invicem absque separatione distin-
 “ guantur, in se absque confusione insunt, seque
 “ veluti immeant^m. ”

I am not concerned with attempting to explain this mystery any farther: and the concluding words of bishop Bull, in his immortal Defence of the Nicene Faith, are well worthy of our consideration; “ Denique illud imprimis considerandum est, hanc
 “ divinarum personarum περιχώρησιν revera maxi-
 “ mum esse mysterium, quod religiose adorare po-
 “ tius, quam curiosius rimari debemusⁿ. ” It will perhaps be found, that the Anti-Trinitarians have been the principal offenders against this salutary caution: and though they scoff at those, who believe in a mystery which they cannot explain, they seem to forget, that there is no less difficulty in explaining how such a mystery could have obtained general belief, if it had not been revealed, or at least if it had not been handed down, from the beginning. It is the particular object of the present work to shew that it was so handed down. That these two bishops in the third century believed and maintained the mutual indwelling of the three persons of the Trinity, can hardly be denied: and I may now refer the reader back to the first quotation in the present work, where he will find Ignatius, the

^m De Trinitate, II. p. 103.

ⁿ Def. Fid. Nic. IV. 4, 14.
 He has illustrated this doctrine
 in II. 4, 9; II. 9, 11; II. 9,

23; IV. 4, 9; IV. 4, 10; IV.
 4, 12; IV. 4, 13. Animadv. in
 G. Clerke, §. 4.



132 CONCILIUM ANTIOCHENUM, A. D. 269.

companion of the apostles, at the beginning of the second century, expressing ideas equally mysterious and equally inexplicable concerning the mutual indwelling of the Father and the Son. So utterly unfounded is the notion, that the doctrine of the Trinity was the offspring of the fourth, or, as it is sometimes called in disparagement, the Athanasian age.

I have only to add to these extracts from the works of the two Dionysii, that the bishop of Alexandria expressly uses the term *ὁμοούσιος*, as applied to the relation of the Father and the Son. The reader will find some remarks upon this subject in my former work, N^o. 305, which might perhaps have been more properly introduced in this place. It will also be remembered, as was stated in the same work, that Dionysius of Rome convened a council of his clergy, to consider the tenets of Sabellius: and the result of their deliberation was, that the bishop wrote the treatise, from which the preceding extract was made: so that the opposition to Sabellianism was not the act of one individual only, but of the whole Roman clergy assembled in council.

72. CONCILIUM ANTIOCHENUM, A. D. 269.

This council was held about the year 269 on account of the heresy of Paul, bishop of Samosata: and at the end of the letter which was addressed to him by the assembled bishops, there is the following sentence, which may perhaps admit of different grammatical constructions, but there can be no doubt as to its maintaining the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. “But if Christ be *the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God*, he is

“before the worlds: so is he also, inasmuch as he
 “is Christ, being one and the same in substance^o.”
 This is perhaps almost the earliest instance of the
 word *οὐσία* being used for *substance* or *essence*.

THEOGNOSTUS, A. D. 283.

The testimony from Theognostus was quoted incidentally in my former work^p: and the following account of him is taken principally from Cave.

He was unquestionably a pupil of Origen, and one of his successors in the catechetical school of Alexandria: but it is uncertain, whether he followed him immediately, or whether Pierius intervened, as president of the school. Athanasius speaks of him as a man of learning^q; and we know that he composed a work in seven books, entitled *Hypotyposes*, which is now lost. In the three first books he treated of the three persons of the Trinity; and Photius, who has preserved an account of them, represents him as lowering the Son and the Holy Ghost to the rank of creatures^r. There is however good reason to conclude, that Photius was led to make this charge by his abhorrence of Origen, of whom Theognostus is acknowledged to have been a follower. Photius himself allows, that toward the end of the work he expressed himself in a more

^o Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς Θεοῦ δύναμις καὶ Θεοῦ σοφία, πρὸ αἰώνων ἔστιν· οὕτω καὶ καθὼ Χριστὸς, ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὂν τῇ οὐσίᾳ. Rel. Sacr. vol. II. p. 474.

^p N^o. 305. note ^q, p. 393. ed. 2.

^q De Decret. Syn. Nic. 25.

vol. I. p. 230. ἀνὴρ λόγιος.

^r Photius, Cod. CVI. He is followed by Sandius, *Enucl. Hist. Eccl.* I. p. 109. and Huetius, *Origenian.* p. 134. He is defended by Bull, *Def. Fid. Nic.* II. 10, 7. &c.

orthodox manner concerning the Son : and Athanasius would never have quoted him among the Ante-Nicene testimonies to the consubstantiality of the Father and Son, if he had known him to be as heterodox, as Photius has represented him. Athanasius may perhaps lead us to the true solution of this question, when after quoting the passage, he adds, “ Such are the words of Theognostus, who “ after stating certain arguments by way of exercise, proceeds to deliver his own opinion.” *His own opinion*, if it is to be collected from his own words, can hardly be mistaken : and it is the more valuable, because Athanasius advances it as the first proof, that the fathers, who lived before the council of Nice, did not decline to speak of the Son as begotten *of the substance* of the Father. The words of Athanasius would lead us to place Theognostus earlier than Dionysius of Alexandria : but I have prefixed the date which is conjectured by Cave. The testimony of this father is as follows :

“ The substance of the Son is not something
 “ which was extrinsic and adventitious, nor was it
 “ superinduced from things which once had no existence ; but it was produced from the substance
 “ of the Father, like the effulgence of light, and
 “ the vapour of water : for the effulgence is not
 “ the very sun, nor the vapour the very water ;
 “ nor yet is it something different ; but it is an
 “ efflux from the substance of the Father, which
 “ substance did not undergo partition : for as the
 “ sun continues the same, and is not diminished by
 “ the rays which proceed from it, so neither does

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“the substance of the Father undergo alteration, “by having the Son an image of itself^s.”

In my former work I adduced no testimony from any writer, who flourished after the year 325, in which the first general council was held at Nice. The object of the work required me to stop at that period: but perhaps it would not have been unfair, if I had quoted from authors, who were present at the council, but who had recorded their opinions in writing before the Arian controversy began. Even Alexander himself, the bishop of Alexandria, who was the cause of the Arian doctrines being examined before a council, might be cited as a witness to the novelty of the doctrines. It is plain that he thought them contrary to those which he had received from his predecessors, or he would not have felt it his duty to punish the maintainers of them. Nor was it only the zeal of the orthodox bishop, which stepped forward to check the innovation. A council of nearly 100 bishops was assembled from Libya and Egypt, all of whom agreed in drawing up an anathema against Arius and his followers. The sentiments of Alexander may be learnt from three of his epistles, which are still extant^t. He

^s Οὐκ ἔξωθεν τίς ἐστιν ἐφευρεθεῖσα ἡ τοῦ Τίου οὐσία, οὐδὲ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων ἐπεισῆχθη· ἀλλὰ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας ἔφυ, ὡς τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ὡς ὕδατος ἀτμίς· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, οὔτε ἡ ἀτμίς, αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστιν, ἢ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος· οὔτε ἀλλότριον, ἀλλὰ ἀπόβροια τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας, οὐ μερισμὸν ὑπομεινάσης τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίας. ὡς γὰρ μένων ὁ ἥλιος ὁ αὐτὸς οὐ μειύεται ταῖς ἐκχεομέναις ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ αὐ-

γαῖς, οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡ οὐσία τοῦ Πατρὸς ἀλλοίωσιν ὑπέμεινεν, εἰκόνα ἐαυτῆς ἔχουσα τὸν Τίον. Athanas. *de Decret. Syn. Nic.* 25. p. 230.

^t A letter to Alexander, bishop of Constantinople. (Theodoret, I. 4.) A letter to the clergy of the catholic church. (Socrat. I. 6. published more accurately *inter op. Athanas.* vol. I. p. 397.) A letter to the clergy of Alexandria and Mare-

speaks unequivocally of believing the divinity of Christ, and appeals to the consent of ancient writers upon the controverted points. The tenets of the Arians are explained with great minuteness; from which we learn, that the opposite of these tenets, the eternity of the Son, his generation by the Father, and their consubstantiality, were held by the Alexandrian bishop and his clergy as fully and unequivocally, as they were afterwards defined by his illustrious successor Athanasius. He also as plainly rejects the Sabellian interpretation, which had been put upon those passages, which speak of the unity of the Father and the Son; so that whatever may be thought of the polemical violence of the orthodox party, (and both parties were perhaps in this respect equally blameable,) it is at least certain as a matter of fact, that the Trinitarian doctrine was held by nearly all the clergy, when the controversy first began. Alexander mentions only three bishops, five presbyters, and six deacons, who supported Arius in his heresy; and without supposing these persons to have been actuated by improper motives, (a suspicion, which is more than insinuated against some of them,) it is only reasonable to decide, that the sentiments of so small a minority are not to be weighed against the deliberate declaration of the whole catholic church^u.

There are perhaps some treatises of the great Athanasius himself, which might be quoted upon the same principle, as having been composed before

otis: (published by Coteler. *Not. ad Const. Apost.* viii. 28. and *inter op. Athanas.* p. 396.)

^u Some excellent remarks concerning the orthodoxy of

Alexander may be seen in Dr. Randolph's *Letter to the Remarker on the Layman's Scriptural Confutation*, p. 124, &c.

the appearance of the Arian controversy. Athanasius was born about the year 296, so that he was twenty-nine years old, when he attended the council of Nice: and since he was chosen bishop of Alexandria in the year immediately following the council, he must already have arrived at considerable celebrity. He had probably been known as a writer before that time: and Montfaucon, the Benedictine editor of his works, supposes two of his treatises, the *Oratio contra Gentes*, and that *de Incarnatione Verbi*, (which are perhaps parts of the same treatise,) to have been written before the commencement of the Arian heresy. The doctrine of the Trinity is frequently and explicitly maintained in both these compositions.

Eusebius is another writer, who must have distinguished himself before the time of the council of Nice, and had probably published expressions concerning the nature of Christ, before the Arian controversy had given to that subject its paramount importance. It has not however been proved, that any of his works, which are now extant, were composed before the period which I have taken as limiting these testimonies: and some persons would add, that the sentiments of Eusebius are rather to be quoted on the other side, since it is well known, that both in ancient and modern times he has been suspected of Arianism. The charge was brought formerly by Athanasius, Epiphanius, Hilarius, Jerom, and others; and has been repeated by Baronius, Petavius, Le Clerc, and several later writers. For a defence of Eusebius from these attacks, I would refer the reader to Cave's Dissertation, which he wrote expressly upon this subject, and to his

Apologetical Epistle^x directed against the arguments of Le Clerc. Cave has brought many passages from the writings of Eusebius, which, if they stood alone, could hardly be interpreted in any but the orthodox sense. He speaks of the divinity of Christ in terms which it would seem impossible for an Arian to have used: and yet there are other passages, from which an Arian would infer, that his own tenets had been held by Eusebius. Many instances might be brought forward in support of either opinion; but since this has been done so copiously in the works, to which I have referred, it is not necessary to repeat them. I shall only adduce one instance from the commentary upon St. Luke, which has lately been published by Angelo Mai^y, but was not known to Cave. It is upon those words in the genealogy of our Saviour, (Luke iii. 38,) where Adam is called *the Son of God*: upon which Eusebius observes, “The evangelist began the genealogy from the new Adam, and carried it up to the old. He then says, *who was the son of God*, that is, *who was from God*: for Adam has no man for his father, but God formed him. You will observe also that he begins from the human nature of Christ, and then carries up the genealogy to his divinity, as much as to shew that Christ had a beginning as man, but had no beginning as God^z.”

I have translated this passage, because it has not

^x They are both printed at the end of the *Historia Literaria*, in the edition of 1743.

^y *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*. Romæ, 1825. vol. I. p. 108.

^z “Ὅρα δὲ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀρξάμενος εἰς τὴν θεότητα αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεαλογίας ἀνήγαγε, δείξας τὸν Χριστὸν ἡγγμένον μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπον, ἀναρχὸν δὲ ὡς Θεόν.

yet been quoted in the controversy concerning the doctrine of Eusebius, and because the notion of Christ, "as God, having no beginning," seems directly opposed to the Arian tenets: but on the whole I would subscribe to the observation made by Cave, who says, "It was not my intention, nor " is it now, to clear Eusebius from every imperfection: on the contrary, I have acknowledged more " than once, that his writings contain many incautious, harsh, and dangerous expressions, which " call for a fair and candid reader; and that sometimes we meet with unusual and improper forms " of speech, greatly at variance with the received " rules of theologians, and such as I neither approve " of nor defend." Eusebius however presented a creed or confession of faith to the council assembled at Nice, which deserves to be mentioned in this place. It would be interesting as connected with the history of that council; and if it should be thought to favour Arianism, it will be difficult to prove that the Arians did not hold the doctrine of the Trinity: but it also forms a legitimate portion of the Ante-Nicene testimony to this doctrine, when we find Eusebius speaking thus of its presentation to the council: "In the same manner that I received from the bishops my predecessors, both " when I was taught my catechism, and when I " was baptized; and as I have learnt from the " scriptures, and according to my own belief, and " the instruction which I have given as a presbyter " and as a bishop, so do I now, according to my " present belief, lay before you my own creed ^a."

^a Καθὼς παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν χήσει, καὶ ὅτε τὸ λουτρὸν ἐλαμβάνομεν, καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γρα-
πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ ἐν τῇ κατη-
μεν, καὶ καθὼς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων γρα-

Eusebius was born about the year 270: so that a creed, which he recited at his baptism, would carry us back to at least ten years before the end of the third century: and though we are not bound to suppose that this creed was actually recited word for word by Eusebius at the time of his baptism, we must at least believe that the doctrines contained in it were in accordance with those, which every catechumen was expected to profess at the end of the third century. The words of Eusebius might allow us to refer to a still earlier period. The creed is as follows:

“ I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the
 “ Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in
 “ one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of
 “ God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only begot-
 “ ten Son, the first-born of every creature, begotten
 “ of God the Father before all the worlds; by whom
 “ also all things were made; who for our salvation
 “ was incarnate, and lived among men, and suffered,
 “ and rose again the third day, and returned to the
 “ Father, and will come again in glory to judge the
 “ quick and dead. I believe also in one Holy Ghost,
 “ believing that each of these has a being and exist-
 “ ence, the Father really the Father, and the Son
 “ really the Son, and the Holy Ghost really the
 “ Holy Ghost; as our Lord, when he sent his dis-
 “ ciples to preach, said, *Go and teach all nations,*
 “ *baptizing them in the name of the Father, and*
 “ *of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:* concerning
 “ whom I affirm, that I hold and think in this man-

φῶν μεμαθήκαμεν, καὶ ὡς ἐν τῇ σκομέν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν πιστεύοντες τὴν
 πρεσβυτερίῳ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐπι- ἡμετέραν πίστιν ὑμῖν προσαναφέρο-
 σκοπῇ ἐπιστεύσαμεν τε καὶ ἐδιδά- μεν. Socrat. l. 8. p. 23.

“ ner, and that I long ago held thus, and shall hold
 “ so until death, and persist in this faith, anathema-
 “ tizing every impious heresy. I declare in the
 “ presence of Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus
 “ Christ, that I have held all these sentiments from
 “ my heart and soul, from the time that I know
 “ myself, and that I now think and express them
 “ sincerely, being able to shew by demonstration,
 “ and to persuade you, that my belief was thus and
 “ my preaching likewise in time past ^b.”

Eusebius informs us, that this creed was approved by the emperor and the council, who merely made the addition of the word *ὁμοούσιος*, *of one substance*. This statement is not exactly correct; though a person, who was ignorant of the Arian controversy, would scarcely observe any other material difference between the creed proposed by Eusebius, and that

^b Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἀπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν· καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγον, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ζωὴν ἐκ ζωῆς, Τὸν μονογενῆ, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον· δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα· τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα, καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον· καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ ἤξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον. τούτων ἕκαστον εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν πιστεύοντες, Πατέρα ἀληθῶς Πατέρα, καὶ Ἰὸν ἀληθῶς Τὸν, καὶ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον ἀληθῶς Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. καθὼς καὶ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς τὸ κήρυγμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ μαθητάς, εἶπε,

Πορευθέντες κ. τ. λ. περὶ ᾧ καὶ διαβεβαιούμεθα, οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ οὕτω φρονεῖν, καὶ πάλαι οὕτως ἐσχέκεναι, καὶ μέχρι θανάτου οὕτω στήσιν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνίστασθαι τῇ πίστει, ἀναθεματίζοντες πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν ἄθεον. ταῦτα ἀπὸ καρδίας καὶ ψυχῆς πάντα πεφρονέκεναι, ἐξ οὗπερ ἴσμεν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ νῦν φρονεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν ἐξ ἀληθείας, ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος, καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτυρούμεθα· δεικνύναι ἔχοντες δι' ἀποδείξεων, καὶ πείθειν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς παρελθόντας χρόνους οὕτως ἐπιστευόμεν τε καὶ ἐκηρύσσομεν ὁμοίως. This is the copy of the creed as preserved by Socrates. It is given also with very few variations by Athanasius, (de Decret. Syn. Nic. p. 238.) and Theodoret, (Hist. Eccles. I. 12. p. 38.)

finally adopted by the council. We shall see however, that some clauses were left out, and others added: and in all these variations it is plain that the orthodox party was labouring to meet the evasions and equivocations of the Arians. The creed subscribed at Nice by nearly all the 318 bishops assembled there was as follows: and the reader will perhaps think, that this document forms a suitable termination to the series of Ante-Nicene testimony, which I have adduced to the doctrine of the Trinity.

“ We believe in one God the Father Almighty,
 “ maker of all things visible and invisible. And in
 “ one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of
 “ God, begotten of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father: God of God, Light of Light,
 “ very God of very God, begotten, not made, being
 “ of one substance with the Father; by whom^c all
 “ things were made, both things in heaven, and
 “ things on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down, and was incarnate, was made
 “ man, suffered, and rose again the third day, and
 “ ascended into heaven, who is coming to judge the
 “ quick and dead. And in the Holy Ghost. And
 “ those who say, there was a time when he did not
 “ exist, and that he did not exist before he was begotten, and that he was made out of things which
 “ were not, or who say that he was of another sub-

^c There is an ambiguity in the English version of the creed. The words *by whom* might seem to relate to the Father; but there can be no doubt, that they were intended to relate to the Son, who is invested with the

attribute of creation. If the words, *of one substance with the Father*, had not been added, there could have been no doubt as to the construction; and these words were not in the creed proposed by Eusebius.

“ stance or essence, or that the Son of God is created, or liable to change, these persons the catholic and apostolical church anathematises ^d.”

It will be observed, that this Creed differs in several clauses from that which is now called the Nicene Creed, and which is recited in the Communion service. These additions and alterations were made by the council, which was held at Constantinople in the year 381: and the Creed, as it was originally drawn up in Greek, may be seen in the notes ^e. It is said

^d Πιστευόμεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητὴν. Καὶ εἰς [τὸν] ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τούτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς, Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὰ τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς [ἐν τῇ γῇ]· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα [καὶ] σαρκωθέντα, ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, [καὶ] ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, [καὶ] ἐρχόμενον κρίνει ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον [τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα]. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ, Πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, [ἢ, Οὐκ ἦν πρὶν γεννηθῆναι,] καὶ ὅτι [ἢ] ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, [τούτους] ἀναθεματίζει ἡ [ἀγία] καθολικὴ [καὶ] ἀποστολική [τοῦ Θεοῦ] ἐκκλησία. This Creed is preserved by Athanasius, *de Decret. Syn. Nic.* p. 239. *Epist. ad Jovian.* p. 781. Socrates,

Hist. Eccl. I. 8. p. 24. Theodoret. *Hist. Eccl.* IV. 3. p. 151. and by other writers. The variations are unimportant, as may be seen by the words inclosed in brackets.

^e Πιστευόμεν εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν [οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,] ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα [πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων], φῶς ἐκ φωτός, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο. τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα [ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,] καὶ σαρκωθέντα [ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ] ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, [σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ] παθόντα, [καὶ] ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ [κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,] καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, [καὶ] καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ [πάλιν] ἐρχόμενον [μετὰ δόξης] κρίνει ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· [οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος]. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, [τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευ-

to have been composed by Gregory, bishop of Nyssa^f. Between the two periods of the councils of Nice and Constantinople, the Macedonian heresy had sprung up, which denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and some clauses were added at the end of the Creed to exclude these opinions. It will be observed, however, that it is said of the Holy Ghost, *who proceedeth from the Father*; and the Constantinopolitan Creed was subscribed without the clause, which we now add, *and the Son*. These words never formed part of the Creed, as acknowledged by the Eastern church; nor is the procession of the Holy Ghost *from the Son*, as well as from the Father, received by the Greek church to the present day. Doubts have arisen as to the time and place, when the words *Filioque* were first added to the Latin form of the Creed, and admitted by the Western church. Some have supposed them to have been introduced by a council held at Rome at the same time with that held at Constantinople: but it is more probable, that they were not added till the following century, or perhaps considerably later.

It only remains for me to remark concerning the Nicene or Constantinopolitan Creed, that all the clauses of it, which relate to the divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, may be supported by the writings of the Ante-Nicene fathers. It has been my object in the present and former work to demon-

όμενον, τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμ-
προσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον,
τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. Εἰς
μίαν ἀγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολι-
κὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπ-
τισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· προσδο-
κῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν

τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν.] The
words enclosed in brackets are
those which do not appear in
the Creed subscribed at Nice.

^f Niceph. *Hist. Eccles.* XII.
13.

strate this point. These clauses may be summed up in the following propositions; that Jesus Christ had two natures, the divine and the human; that he existed in his divine nature previous to his incarnation, and that his incarnation was the operation of the Holy Ghost; that he was the *begotten* Son of God, and of the same substance or nature with God, and himself very God; that his generation preceded all time, and that he was the Creator of the world. If the reader will consult the Index to this and the former work, he will find that all these points were maintained by writers who preceded the council of Nice. The doctrine, which is least clearly stated in the Constantinopolitan creed, is perhaps that which is termed in theological language, the eternal generation of the Son; or, to express it in simpler terms, the existence of the Son from all eternity; for the words, *eternal generation*, contain in fact an assertion of two doctrines; one, that Christ is *the begotten Son* of God; and another, that though proceeding from the Father by generation, he is still *coeternal* with Him. The fact of Christ being *the begotten Son* of God is clearly expressed in the Constantinopolitan creed; and if his eternity should appear to be less strongly asserted, it is because the words, *before all worlds*, are not equivalent to the Greek, *πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων*. The Socinian and Unitarian interpreters would remind us, that the term *αἶνες* does not necessarily mean *worlds*, but may be translated *ages*, *periods of time*, or *dispensations*. The remark is not incorrect. *Αἶων* means in its primary sense *an indefinite period of time*; and in a secondary sense, *the system or scheme of things*

which continued through any period. Thus the period from the creation to the deluge was one αἰών from the deluge to Abraham was another: the kingdom of the Messiah is another: and so we may speak of the Mosaic dispensation as one αἰών, and the Christian dispensation as another. But αἰῶνες in the plural must mean more than one of these periods or dispensations: οἱ αἰῶνες might mean all the divisions of time, or all the dispensations, which ever have been or will be: and it is not difficult to see, how οἱ αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων came to be used for *eternity* by persons who considered, though erroneously, that eternity is an infinite multiple of time. When the Unitarian translators render τοὺς αἰῶνας in Heb. i. 2. xi. 3, *the ages*, or *the dispensations*, though the translation would convey little meaning, it would not be incorrect, if we understand by it all the dispensations, which ever have existed; and the assertion, that Christ was the author of all these dispensations, is very remarkable: but if we compare the two passages together, the correctness of our authorized version will perhaps be apparent. If we translate the words πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων in the Constantinopolitan creed, *before all ages* or *dispensations*, they perhaps come as near to an expression of eternity, as the finite nature of language will permit. The period, which preceded creation, was as much an αἰών, as any of those which followed it: and πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων can only be taken as equivalent to *before all time*, i. e. before there were any divisions of time, which can be called αἰῶνες: and our powers of abstraction will perhaps not allow us to have a more definite idea of eternal existence than

this. It may also be remarked, that if the Constantinopolitan creed should be considered as defective in asserting the eternity of the Son, there can be no doubt as to this doctrine having been held by the writers of the three first centuries. I would again refer the reader to the Index concerning this point : and whoever consults these testimonies, will scarcely doubt what was the meaning of the creed, which speaks of the Son as *begotten before all time*.

The divinity of the Holy Ghost is asserted in the creed, by words which denote his preexistence, which give to him the titles and attributes of Deity, which separate him from created beings in the mode of his existence, and unite him as an object of worship with the Father and the Son. Concerning the latter point, I would refer to what has been said at p. 14. and the Indices will shew, as before, that the Ante-Nicene Fathers held the same sentiments concerning the divinity of the Holy Ghost.

I should only be repeating, what has already been observed in the Introduction, if I should remind the reader, that to assert the divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, is in fact to assert the doctrine of the Trinity. If each of these persons is God, we must either believe that there are three Gods, or we must believe, that though in one relation they are three, in another they are one. The latter is the doctrine of a Trinity in Unity. It has not been my intention in either of these works to explain the nature of this doctrine, but merely to prove that such a doctrine was maintained in the earliest times. The reader will decide, whether this point is established by the testimonies which have been

alleged : it is for those who deny the doctrine, to explain how the church can have been in error from the beginning, and to name the period, when the Unitarian opinions were those of the universal church.

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